National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

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VOL. XV. NO. 4. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 17, 1854. WHOLE NO. 732.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, on Saturday, by the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, at their office, No. 142 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK. Terms, *Two Dollars* per annum. Printed, for the American Anti-Slavery Society, by NORRIS & JOHNSTON, printers, No. 21 Spruce street, New York.

THE NEBRASKA QUESTION.

SOME THOUGHTS

ON THE

New Assault upon Freedom in America,

AND THE

GENERAL STATE OF THE COUNTRY

IN RELATION THEREUNTO,

Set forth in a Discourse preached at the Music Hall, in Boston, on Monday, Feb. 12, 1854

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The dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty.—*Psalm, lxxiv.* 20.

BEFORE next Sunday it will be nine years since I first spoke to you in this city, coming at your request. In the first discourse I spoke of the Necessity of Religion for the Conduct of the Individual and the State. Since that time several crises have occurred in our national affairs which have led me to endeavour to apply the great principles of Religion to the political measures of this nation. It is something more than a year since any such event has called for such treatment in this place. But now another assault has been made upon the liberty of man, in America, and so to-day I ask your attention to some Thoughts on the new Assault upon Freedom in America, and the general State of the Country in Relation thereunto.

To comprehend the matter clearly, and the cause and the consequences of this special iniquity now contemplated, we must begin far off and study the general course of human conduct in America—the last new continent left as a stage for the development of mankind.

The transfer of the Anglo-Saxon tribe to this Western continent is one of the most important events which has taken place in the last thousand years. Since the Protestant Reformation, which helped forward the ideas that were the banner of the march, nothing has proved so significant as the Westward movement of this swarm of men, not so much coming as driven out from the old close-pent European hive, and then settling down on the new continent.

A few Romano-Celtic Frenchmen had already moored their venturous shallops in the American water, and pitched their military tents in what was else only the great wilderness of North America, roamed over by wild beasts and wild men, also the children of the woods. The Spanish tribe had come before either, and with military greediness were eating up the wealthy Sonth. But Spain could set only a poor and perishing scion in the new world. That was always an evil tree to graft from, not producing good fruit. Besides, an old nation, in a state of decay, founds no healthy colonies. The children of a decomposing state, time-worn and debauched, though with a whole continent before them—what could they accomplish for mankind? They inherited the idleness, the ferocity, the military avarice, the superstition and heinous cruelty of a people never remarkable for any high traits of character. Two thousand years ago, the Celto-Iberic tribe mingled with the Roman; then with the Visi-Goth, the Moor, the Jew—war proclaiming the savage nuptials—and modern Spain is the issue of this six-fold juncture. This composite tribe of men had once some martial vigour; nay, some commercial enterprise, but it has done little to advance mankind by the invention of new ideas, the organization thereof, or the administration of what others devised and organized; the meanest and most cruel of the Christian nations, to-day she seems made but of the leavings of the world. To Columbus, adventurous Italy's most venturous son, she gave, grudgingly, three miserable ships, wherewith that daring genius sailed through the classic and mediæval darkness which covered the great Atlantic deep, opening to mankind a new world, and new destination therein. No Queen wore ever a diadem so precious as those pearls which Isabella dropped into the Western sea, a bridal gift whereby the Old World, well endowed with Art and Science, and the hoarded wealth of experience, wed America, rich only in her gifts from Nature and her hopes in time. The three most valuable contributions Spain has made to mankind are the *Consolato del mare*, the Barcelonian bud whence modern mercantile law has slowly blossomed forth; the three scant ships a wealthy nation furnished to the Genoese navigator whom the world's instinct pushed Westward in quest of continents; and *Don Quixote*, a masterly satire on a form of folly then old-fashioned and fast getting extinct. These are the chief contributions Spain has dropped into the almsbox of the world. Coarse olives, huge onions, strong red wine—these are the offerings of the Spanish mind in the world's fair of modern times. Since the days of Seneca and Lucan, perhaps Servetus is her foremost man, fantastic minded, yet rich in germs of fertile thought.

Long before the Anglo-Saxons, the Spaniard came to America; greedy of money, hungering for reputation—the glory of the Gascon stock. He brought the proud but thin and sickly blood of a decaying tribe; the traditionary institutions of the past—Theocracy, Monarchy, Aristocracy, Despotocracy, the dominion of the master over the exploitered slave. He brought the mass-book and legends of unnatural saints—the symbols of superstition and ecclesiastic tyranny; the sword—the last argument of Spanish kings, the symbol of military despotism; fetters and the blood-hound. He brought no great ideas, new trees started in the old nursery of the past; no noble sentiments, the seed-corn of ideal harvests yet to be. He shared only the material momentum of the human race which dashed his Eastern body on the Western world. He butchered the Indians who disbelieved "the Immaculate conception of our blessed Lady" as taught by men of most Titanic, all-devouring lust. He set up the Inquisition, and soon had monks and nuns believing what heathen Gautemozin would have found bitterer than fire. The Spaniard attempted to found no institution which was an improvement on what he left behind—he reproduced only the Church, the State, the Community, and Family, of the middle-ages. He hated arts, letters, liberty; even the mass of the people seem to care nothing for freedom of body or of mind.

The Spaniard settled in the fairest parts of the new found land, amongst tribes already far advanced toward civilization—the world's foremost barbarians. He slew them with merciless rapacity; took their stone-built cities; occupied their land, better tilled than the gardens of Castile; he seized their abundant gold; stole their wives and their maidens. At home the people were wonted to bull-fights wherein the valiant *Matador* risks his own worthless body, and to *Autos da Fe* where the cowardly priests burn their free-thinking sister without hazarding their own nuisance of a life; in America the Spaniard rioted in the murder of men. The pictured horrors of De Bry report only a drop of the blood so torturously shed; yet two hundred and fifty years ago they terrified all Europe—Latin, German, French, English, Dutch.

To America, Spain transferred the superstition and tyranny of mediæval Europe, its four-fold despotism—ecclesiastical, political, social, domestic. She re-invented Negro Slavery. Six thousand years ago, before the "flood," yea before mythological Cain had been conceived by a Hebrew head, Egypt, it seems, was guilty of this crime. In the middle ages, Negro-Slavery was an art well nigh lost. Spain, first of the Christian nations, enforced religion with the knife, and beheaded men for heresy; she rolled the Inquisition as a sweet morsel under her tongue; her sovereigns, who extinguished the brand which smoked on the national hearth yet warm with Gothic liberty, who butchered the Moors and banished the plundered Jews, were for such service styled "the Catholic!" Spain re-annexed Negro Slavery to herself, and therewith stained the soil of America. Therein she broke not the continuity of her history, the succession of rapine, piracy, cruel outpouring of blood. Not Italian Columbus, but Iberian Cortes and Pizarro, were the types of Spain; not Las Casas, but Torquemanda.

Behold now the condition of Spanish America. Its most flourishing part is an empire, with the house of Braganza at its head—an imitation of the old world, a despotism throned on bayonets. There are two empires in Tropic America—Hayti and Brazil; the foremost tradition of Africa, the bindmost of Europe set down on American soil. The Negro empire appears the most successful, the most promising. There alone is no hereditary Slavery. Over Cuba, France and England still hold up the feeble hands of Spain—whence at last freedom seems dropping into the Slave's expectant lap. The rest of Spanish America has the form of a republic—a republic whose only permanent constitution is a Cartridge-box, which blows up once a year. Look at Mexico—I am glad she is going swiftly back to the form of despotism; she is capable of no other reality. How the Western vultures fly thitherward! Where the carcass of a nation rots there will the fillibusters be gathered together. Every raven in the hungry flock of American politicians looks that way, wipes his greedy beak, prunes his wings, and screams "Manifest Destiny!"

In South America there are ten "Republics." They cover three and a half millions of square miles, and contain twelve million men. But they do less for mankind than Holland; nay, Basil and Zurich do more for the human race than these "Republics," which only blot the continent. No Idea is cradled in Spanish America; no books are written there; none read but books of "Devotion," which Ignorance long since wrote. Old Spain imports from France the filthiest novels of the age; new Spain only the yet more deadly books of Catholic "Devotion." The "laws" of the Chilian "Republic" are printed in Spain, where no Chilian ship ever sailed. The Amazon has eighty thousand miles of navigable water—near a hundred thousand, say some; the survey is conjectural—and drains into the lap of America, a tropic basin, the largest, the richest on the globe, with more good land than all Europe owns; therein streams larger than the Danube discharge their freight. But only a single steamer disturbs the alligator on its mighty breast—that steamer built and owned at New York. Para at its mouth is more than three hundred years old, yet has not twenty thousand souls. If the South American "Republics" were to perish this day, the world would hardly lose a valuable experiment in Spanish political or social life, hardly a visible promise of future prosperity; so badly flourish the Spanish scions set in the green soil of America, and surrounded by the old institutions of the middle ages. Slavery is the one idea of the Spanish tribes—here African, there Indian or Caucasian.

One hundred and thirty years after Genoese Columbus had planted the Spanish Cross in the new world—sword in hand and splendidly arrayed—from a little vessel, leaky, and with a "wrack in the main beam amidships," the Anglo-Saxons dropped their anchor in Massachusetts bay, circled then with savage woods; they drew up a "compact," chose their "Governor" for one year, rested and worshipped on Sunday, the next day landed at "New Plymouth," thanking God. They came, a slip from a young tree full of hardy life. Four stout roots—Anglo, Saxon, Danish, Norman—united their old fantastic twists and joined in this one tough and rugged stem, then quadruply buttressed below, now how widely branched abroad in every climate of the world! Fresh blood was in those Anglo-Saxon veins; strong, red, heathen blood, not long before inoculated with Christianity which yet took most kindly in all Teutonic veins.

These Pilgrims had in them the ethnologic idiosyncracy of the Anglo-Saxon—his restless disposition to invade and conquer other lands; his haughty contempt of humbler tribes, which leads him to subvert, enslave, kill and exterminate: his fondness for material things, preferring use to beauty: his love of personal liberty, yet coupled with most profound respect for peaceful and established law; his inborn skill to organize things to a mill, men to a company, a community, tribes to a federated state; and his slow, solemn, inflexible, industrious, and unconquerable will.

They brought with them much of the tradition of the human race, the guidings and warnings of experience; a great deal of superstition, of tyranny not a little—ecclesiastical, political, social, domestic. They brought the sword—that symbol of military despotism must yet fight on freedom's side; but they loved better the axe, the wooden shovel—the best they had—the plough, the swine, the ox, tools of productive industrial civilization, types of toil and co-operative freedom. For the Mass-Book they had the Bible: it was a free Bible; let him read that listeth. No doubt the Bible contained the imperfection of the men and ages concerned in writing it. The hay tastes of the meadow where it grew, of the weather when it was made, and smells of the barn wherein it has been kept; nay, the breath of the oxen housed underneath comes down to market in every load. But in its many-coloured leaves, the Bible likewise holds the words of great men, free and making free; it was full of the old blossoms of piety, and rich in buds for new and glorious life, aye, and beauty too. The cup of prophets mainly, not of priests, it ran over with water of life from the mythologic well in the wilderness and Bethesda's pool which angels stirred to healing power; it gave men vigorous strength and early life. Instead of the bloodhound, the Pilgrims sent the schoolmaster to his work; they put their fetters on the little streams that run among the hills, and those river-gods must saw, and grind, and spin for mortal men; not the Inquisition, but the Printing Press, was the type and symbol of this Northern work.

They had the traditions of the human race, but also its momentum acquired in the movement of many a thousand years. They brought the best political institutions the world had then known. They had the English Common Law—which had slowly got erected in the practice of this liberty-loving people, its Cyclopean Walls built up by the Lesbian rule—with its forms and precedents, its methodical schemes of procedure, itself a popular *judicium rusticum*; they had the habit of local self-government; the right—though then not well understood—of popular legislation, also founded in immemorial usage; dim notions and the certain practice of representative government—the Democracy of Law-making; the trial by Jury—the Democracy of Law-administration. They brought Congregational Protestantism—the Democracy of Christianity, involving, what they neither granted nor knew, the universal right of search for truth and justice, the natural right to take or reject, as a man's own spirit should require.

Besides the organized institutions—visible as tools of industry or politics, or invisible in literature, science, settled and admitted principles of private morality or of public law—which represent the history and achievements of mankind, they brought also Ideas not organized in either form of institution, and sentiments not yet translated into conscious thought. These represented man's natural instinct of progress and the momentum he had gained in history; they were to become institutions and facts in future time.

When the Puritan founded his colonies in New England, there were other Anglo-Saxon settlements on the Atlantic Coast. Jamestown was founded in 1607. Other settlements followed. The same Anglo-Saxon blood flowed South as well as North; the same traditions and institutions were with both. But the Anglo-Saxons North brought intentions, ideas and feelings quite unlike those of their Southern fellows; the motive for immigrating was altogether unlike. New England was a religious colony—mainly composed of persecuted men who fled Westward because they had ideas which could not be set up in the Eastern world. Thrice the Mayflower crossed the sea, coming to Plymouth, to Salem, to Boston; each time bringing veritable Pilgrims who came from a religious motive, and sought religious ends. This was likewise the case with the primitive settlers of Pennsylvania. The South was not settled by religious colonies. The primitive difference in the seed has continually appeared in the growth thence accruing; in the policy and the character of the South and North. The same year which brought the Puritan Pilgrims to New England bore a quite different freight to Virginia. In 1620, a Dutch captain carried thither some twenty Africans who were sold as Slaves into perpetual bondage—themselves and their children. Thus the old sin of Egypt, half omitted and half forgotten in classic and mediæval times, re-discovered by the Spaniards, and fixed by despots—a loathly plague-spot—on the tropic regions of America, was brought North, adopted by the Anglo-Saxons of the South, and set a-going at Jamestown. It excited no astonishment. All the "Christian" world then sold prisoners of war for Slaves. Thus early did Negro Slavery become an "institution" of the South.

But all things are double: in the Anglo-Saxon North there were two contending elements. One represented old institutions, and wished to stop therewith. It loved despotocracy in the family, aristocracy in the community, monarchy in the state, and theocracy in the church: it opposed the natural human rights of the servant in the family, of the labourer in the community, of the people in the state, of the layman in the church; it favoured the rule of the master, the lord, the king, the priest. This element was old, ancestral, stationary if not retrogressive; it was also powerful. In this the Anglo-Saxon and the Spaniard were alike.

The other element was the instinct for progressive development; the Sentiments not idealized into conscious thoughts; the Ideas not organized into institutions. There was a feeling of the equality of all men in the substance of their human nature, and consequently in all natural rights, howsoever diverse in natural powers, in transmitted distinction and riches, or in acquired culture, money, and station. Now and then this feeling had broken out in a "Jack Cade's insurrection," or a "Peasant's war." But in the seventeenth century it found no distinct expression as a thought. Perhaps it was not an idea with any man a hundred and fifty years ago; it was the stuff ideas are made of. What other feelings are there, one day to become ideas, then acts, the world's victorious life! Lay down your ear to the great ocean of humanity, and as the spirit of God moves on the face of this deep, listen to the low tone of the great ground-swell, and interpret the ripple at the bottom of the sea while, all above, the surface is calm as a maiden's dreamless sleep. In these days, what is it that we hear at the bottom of the world as the eternal tide of human history meets with the sand bars cast down in many an ancient storm! Thereof will I speak not now.

This feeling came slowly to an idea. With many stumblings and wanderings it wenth forth, blindfold as are all the instinctive feelings—whereunto only God, not man, is Eye—not knowing whither it went or even intended to go. See what has been done, or at least commenced.

I. They protested against Theocracy in the church. "Let us have a church without an altar or a Bishop; a service with no mass-book, no organ, no surplice, each congregation subject only to the Lord, not to man," said the Puritan—and he had it: "Yea," answered the Quaker, "and with no hireling minister, no outward sacrament, no formal prayer of words; the church is they that love the Lord; it takes all the church to preach all the gospel, and without that cannot all mankind be saved!" "No vicarious sprinkling of babies, but the voluntary plunging of men," cried the Anabaptist. Thereat the theocratic Puritan lifted his hands and scourged the Baptist and smote the Quaker stone dead. But the palm tree of toleration sprang out of Mary Dyer's grave. The theocracy got routed in many a well-contested fight; in the city of the Puritans, the Catholic, the Quaker, the Anabaptist, the Jew and the Unitarian may worship or worship not, just as they will. But this fight is not over; yet it is plain how the battle is going. The Theocracy is doomed to the cave of Pope and Pagan. Let us give it our blessing—as it goes. The Puritan fled from Episcopal England to tolerant Holland, to the wilderness of America. But he brought more than Puritanism along with him—Humanity came in the same ship. The great warfare for the right of man's nature to transcend all the accidents of his history, began in the name of religion—the instinct whereunto is the deepest in us, the innermost kernel and germinal dot in the human spirit; Luther's hammer shook the world. During mid-winter, in Switzerland, when the snow overhangs heavily from every cliff, if the traveller but clap his hands and shout aloud, the mountains answer with an avalanche. When Martin lifted up his voice amid the mediæval snows of Europe, half Christendom came down in that great landslip of churches. Other snows have since fallen; other voices will be lifted up; other churches will follow—for every mountain shall be levelled, and the valleys filled. The Bible took the place of the Mass-book, the minister of the priest, the independent society of the Papal church. The glorious liberty of the children of God is to be the final result for all.

II. Next came the protest against Monarchy. The Anglo-Saxons never loved single-headed, absolute despotism. How the barons fought against it! But it was left for "His Majesty's faithful Commons" to do the work. The dreadful axe of Puritanic Oliver Cromwell shore off the divine right of kings, making a clean cut between the vicarious government of the middle ages and the personal self-rule of modern times. On the 30th of January, 1648, the executioner held up the head of Charles I. with a "Behold the Head of a Traitor," and "Royalty disappeared in front of Whitehall": a ghastly, dreadful sight. Peasant Luther pushed the Latin Mass-book aside with his German Bible, saying, "Thus I break the succession of the Priests." With his sword, Cromwell, the brewer, pushed aside the Crown of England, "Thus I break the succession of Kings."

New England loved Cromwell, and while dwelling in the wilderness exercised the rights of sovereignty many times before it was known what she did, both destroying and building—as likewise do all of us—greater and wiser than she knew. Luther's hammer broke also the neck of kings, who disappear, and in their place came up governors and presidents not born to adverse rule, but voted in for official service.

III. Then came the protest against Aristocracy. God made men not in classes, but as individuals—each man a person with all the substantive rights of humanity: the same law must serve for all; all must be equal before it and the social institutions of the community. That was the dim utterance of many a man who grumbled in his beard:

> "When Adam delved and Eve span
> Where was then the gentleman?"

How idly they dreamed—looking back for the Paradise that lay before them! But between it and them, Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel, and a fourth stream, nameless as yet, rolled torrents of blood; and a fiery sword of selfishness turned every way to keep men from the Tree of Life, whose very leaves are for the healing of the nations—could they but get to it. Could they—aye! Can they not?

Little by little, man's nature prevailed over Aristocracy, one accident of his development. The Anglo-Saxon Briton had restricted the Nobility he brought with him from the Continent; only the eldest son inherits his father's land, title, and rank, the later-born all commoners. The Anglo Saxon American broke up Primogeniture: the children are equal in blood and rank; the first son has no more of the father in him than the last; all must share equally in his goods. Rank is not heritable. If a coward, the Captain's son is no Captain; by human substance, eminent manhood, bravery, skill, is the new man made Captain; not by the historic accident of legitimate descent from an old Captain. To be born well is to be well born; tall men are of a high family. The corporal's child, yea, the sons of Rank and File, are also men. In the woods of Nature, new humanity takes precedence of all the artificial distinctions of old time. The crime of the father must work no attainder in the baby's blood; by the sour grapes of his own eating only shall a man's teeth be set on edge. Estates must not be entailed in perpetuity. Land must be held in fee simple, with no quit-rents, or other servitudes of vassalage; on terms which all can understand. The vicarious land-tenures of the Middle Ages are forever broken. All men may hold land; and cheaply convey it to whom they will. For the first time the majority have a stake in the public hedge; the mediæval "Noble," the conventional "Gentleman" gradually withdraws and moves out from New England. "It is not a good place for Gentlemen," so a governor wrote two hundred years ago. Everybody is "Mr."; then "Esquire." The born magistrate vanishes, the "Select Men" are annually voted in. Still the social aristocracy, bottomed on accident, is far from being ended. But it rests no longer on the immovable accident of birth, but on the changeable block of money, and like that can be struggled for and acquired by all. It rests on golden sands, or fickle votes.

IV. There yet remains the protest against Despotocracy—the adverse rule of the master over the servant, the hostile subordination of the weak to the strong in the family. In a military despotism, war confers dignity: "it is the part of a man to fight," says Homer; "of a slave to work," and they "who exercise lordship are called Benefactors." In a Theocracy, the priest is a sacred person: his work is "divine service," he enters the temple; but the people are profane, and must stand without; their work is menial! In a Theocracy, Monarchy, Aristocracy—founded and maintained by violence or cunning—labour is thought degrading; the labourer is for the state, not it also for him. This exploitering of the weak by the strong belongs to the essence of those three institutions. Domestic Slavery coheres therewith, and in dark ages this adverse rule of the strong over the weak appears in all the collective action of men—ecclesiastical, political, social, domestic; the God, the King, the Noble, the Master, the husband, the father—all are tyrants; all rule is despotism—the strong for his interest coercing the weak against theirs. In such a soil, Slavery is at home, and grows rank and strong.

But in an industrial community, with a printed Bible bought by the Parish and belonging thereunto; with a minister chosen by the laymen's votes, ordained by their hands, paid by their free-will offerings, nay, educated, perhaps, by their charity, criticised by their judgment, removable at their will; with a creed voted in by the congregation—and voted out when they change their mind; with no monarch ruling by divine right, but only a Governor chosen by the people at their annual meeting; with no "Nobles," no "Gentlemen," but an elected assembly, a general court—sworn on a constitution made by the people—democratically making laws; with magistrates chosen by the people, or responsible thereto; with democratic trial by jury for all men; with the idea that a man's nature is before all the accidents of his ancestry or estate—the old domestic Despotocracy must gradually become impossible. Labour will be thought honourable—idleness a disgrace. Productive activity will be deemed a glory, and riches, its result, the greatest of all mere outside and personal distinctions. The tools must be for whoso can handle them. So the threefold movement, destroying the triple tyranny already mentioned, must presently achieve the emancipation of man from all personal servitude and domestic subordination; the substance of man must be inaugurated above the accidents of his history. This must be done not only in the Church, the State, the Community, but also in the Family. It must set the bondman free. If the Church, State and Community rest on natural Law, so likewise must the Family as well.

To accomplish this, two things were needful. This was the first.

1. To affirm as a principle and establish in measures the idea that all Men, rich and poor, strong and weak, are equal in all their natural rights; that as the accident of birth makes no man Priest, King, or Noble, with a right, thence derived, to rule over men against their will in the Church, State, or Community; so the accident of superior power gives no man a right in the Family to hold others in bondage and subordination, for his advantage and against theirs. It is only to admit that all are MEN, for manhood carries all human rights with it, as land the crops, and the substance its primary qualities. It seems a small thing to do; especially for men able, to dispense and make way with the other mediæval forms of vicarious rule—theocracy, monarchy, and aristocracy. How easy it seemed to inaugurate personality and individualism in the family! But as matters were, this was the most difficult thing of all. For the Priests, the Kings, the Nobles did not come over—only the tradition thereof, and the habit of subordination thereto, with a few feeble scions of the sacerdotal, royal, and noble stocks—and preaching against these always was popular—while the Masters came over in large numbers, bringing their slaves. They brought the substance of Despotocracy along with them, not merely its tradition. To preach against that was always a "sin" to the American Church. But man wants unity of consciousness. Accordingly, in New England good men began early to feel that absolute and perpetual Slavery was a wicked thing. Had not the letter of the Old Testament and of certain passages in the New been before their eyes, I think the Puritan would have seen more clearly than he did see. Still, with so much of the spirit of the Old Testament in him, he could not but see it was wrong to steal men for the purpose of making them slaves and their children after them. So Slavery was always a contradiction in the consciousness of New England. The white slaves became free on expiration of their term of service, or were set free before. There were many such. The red men would not work—and were let alone, or quietly shot down. The Indians killed the white man and scalped him; the Puritan omitted the scalping—it was not worth his while; the scalp was of no use.

The Slavery of the Blacks never prevailed extensively in New England. It was not found very profitable. True it prevailed: it had the laws and the tradition of the elders on its side. But it was yet felt, known, and confessed to be at variance with the ecclesiastical, political, and social ideas of the people. There was always a good deal of conscience in New England. The religious origin of the first colonies is not yet a forgotten fact. The Puritan still looked up to a Higher Law. Did he keep his powder dry? He also trusted in God. Coveting the end, he looked for the means thereto. The gain from the compulsory labour of the African Slave was not motive enough to keep up the contradiction in the New England consciousness. So before the Revolution this institution was much weakened, and with that disappeared from New England; and soon after vanished out of all the States which she bore or taught.

2. The other thing was to affirm a principle and establish as a measure the natural equality of Men and Women in all that pertained to human rights. It was only to affirm that Woman is human, and has the same quality of human substance with man. If difference in condition, as rich and poor, or ability, as strong or weak, does not affect the substance of manhood, and the rights thence accruing, no more does difference of sex, masculine or feminine, make one master, and the other slave. Not only the proletary, the servant, the slave, but exploitered woman also must rise as despotocracy goes down.

In the Southern part of the North American Continent, other Anglo-Saxon colonies got planted and grew up. None of them was a religious settlement; the immigrants came not for the sake of an idea too new or too great for toleration at home. They came as Adventurers, seeking their fortune; not as Pilgrims, to found the "Kingdom of Heaven on Earth." The Southern Settlers had not the New England hostility to mediæval institutions. Theocracy, Monarchy, Aristocracy, were not so unwelcome further South. In 1671, the Governor of Virginia said that she "had no free schools nor printing press. Learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!" Despotocracy had its home in the Southern States. African Slavery came to Virginia in the same year which brought the Pilgrims to Plymouth. It suited the idleness of the self-indulgent master, and became an institution fixed and beloved in the Southern colonies, so diverse in their ideas from the stern but bigoted North. Still the ideas of the age found their way to these colonies—and led to acts. There also was a protest against theocracy, monarchy, aristocracy, and even against despotocracy. Mutuality of origin, community of position—that is all the Northern and Southern colonies at first had in common. Sentiments, ideas, institutions were quite diverse. By and by a little trade helped unite the two. The South wanted Slaves. The North—especially Rhode Island—overcame its scruples, and, spite of the Old Testament, stole men in Africa to sell them at enormous profit in the colonies of the South.

This great human protest against that four-fold despotism continually went on—no man understanding the great battle between the substance of man's progressive nature and the stationary institutions which were the accidents of his history. At length, things came to such a pass that connection between new America and old England could not be borne. Between the Old and the New there had ceased to be that mutuality of Sentiment and Idea which makes unity of institutions and unity of action possible. The Daughter was too strong to bear patiently the dictation and the yoke of her parent; the Mother was too distant and too feeble to enforce her selfish commands.

America published to the world a part of the new ideas which lay in her mind. The Declaration of Independence contained the American Programme of Political Principles. The motive thereto is to be found in the general human instinct for progress, but more especially in the old Teutonic spirit, the love of individual liberty, which has marked the ancient Germans, and still more eminently their Anglo-Saxon descendants, as well in Christian as in Heathen times. The form of speech—self-evident maxims, universal truths resting on the consciousness of mankind—seems derived from European writers on Natural Law; the influence of continental free-thinkers is obvious therein. But the first express declaration, that there are natural, unalienable Rights in Man, seems to have been made a few years before, in New England, in Boston. Is it here thought an honour to the town? Nay, perhaps a disgrace!

Here is the American Programme of Political Principles: All men are endowed by their Creator with certain natural Rights; these Rights can be alienated only by the possessor thereof; in respect thereto all men are equal; amongst them are the Right to Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness; it is the function of government to preserve all these natural, unalienable, and equal Rights for each man; government is amenable to the people, deriving its sanction from the consent of the governed.

In time of peace the thirteen distinct colonies could not have united in that Declaration of Principles. The political idea was a severe criticism on the actual legislation of the Americans. Talk of natural law and equal rights when every colony held Slaves in perpetual bondage! When the North stole men in Africa to sell them in Carolina! But America was then in her agony and bloody sweat. European Despotism was the Angel which strengthened her. External violence pressed the colonies together into a Confederation of States; that alone gave unity of action when there was no unity of humane sentiment or political idea. The union was only military—for defence.

The New conquered; but the Old did not die. Not every Tory went over to the British side. After the war was over, the nation must organize itself on that new Platform of Principles. But, alas, much of the old selfishness remained—theocratic, monarchic, aristocratic, and still more despotocratic; it would appear in the new government. There was no real unity of Idea between the extreme South and the North, between Carolina and Connecticut. Nothing is done by leaps. In organizing the Independence won in battle, the People proclaimed their Programme of Political Purpose. It is the Preamble to the Constitution: "To form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, ensure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common Defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty." The Purpose was as noble as the Principles. But the means to that end, the Constitution itself, is by no means unitary; it is a provisional compromise between the ideal political Principles of the Declaration, and the actual selfishness of the people North and South; it is a measure which did not so much suit the ideal Right, as it favoured one great actual tyranny. National theocracy was given up. How could the Americans allow a "national religion?" Monarchy went also to the ground; the Puritan bosom that bore Cromwell—

> "Would have brooked
> Th' eternal Devil to keep his state ....
> As easily as King."

Aristocracy found more favour, but likewise perished; "no title of nobility shall be granted"; honours are not devisable. Despotocracy, the worst institution of the middle ages—the leprosy of society—came over the water: the Slave survived the Priest, the Noble, the King. Must the axe of a more terrible Cromwell shear that also away? Shall it be a black Cromwell? History points to St. Domingo. The Future also has much to teach us. The Declaration of Principles and of Purposes would annihilate Slavery; the Constitution nowhere forbids it, but broods over that egg which savage selfishness once laid. How could the liberty-loving North join with Carolina, which rejoiced to fetter men? The unity of action was no longer military—it was commercial, union for trade. Thus the Idea of America became an Act!

The truths of the Declaration went abroad to do their work. The French Revolution followed with its wide-reaching consequences, so beneficial to mankind; it still goes on. The ground swell has come near the surface, and all the European sea now foams with tumult. Foreign opposition withdrew; America was left to herself, the sole republic of the world, with the wilderness for her stage and scene, and her great ideas for plot. The two antagonistic elements, the old selfishness which loves those four traditions of the past, the new benevolent instinct of progress which seeks the development of all man's nobler powers, were to fight their battle, while with hope and fear the world looks on. The New World has now broken with the old—once and forever.

The peculiar characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon appear now more prominent in the American than in the Britons; yet he is not altered, only developed. The love of individual liberty triumphs continually; the white man becomes more democratic—in Church, State, Community, and Family. The invasive character appears in the individual and national lust for land, and our rapid geographic spread. Materialism shows itself in the swift growth of covetousness, in the concentration of the talent and genius of the nation upon the acquisition of riches. The power to organize things and men comes out in the machines, ships, and mills, in little and great confederations, from a lyceum to the Federal Union of thirty-one States. The natural exclusiveness appears in the extermination of the red man, in the enslavement of the black man, in the contempt with which he is treated—turned out of the tavern, the church, and the graveyard. The lack of high qualities of mind is shown in the poverty of American literature, the meanness of American religion, in the neglect and continual violation of the idea set forth in our national programme of Principles and Purpose. Since the Revolution, the immediate aim of America appears to have changed.

At first, during the period of America's colonization and her controversy with England, and her affirmation and establishment of her programme of political principles, the great national work of the disunited provinces was a struggle for local self-government against despotic centralization beyond the sea. It was an effort against the vicarious rule of the middle ages, which allowed the people no power in the State, the laity none in the Church, the servant none in the family. It was a great effort—mainly unconscious—in favour of the direct government of each State by itself, of the whole people by the whole people; a national protest against Theocracy, the subordination of man in religious affairs to the accident of his history; Monarchy, the subordination of the mass of men to a single man; Aristocracy, the subordination of the many to the few, of the weak to the strong; yes, in part also against Despotocracy, the subordination of the slave who toils to the master that enjoys—in their rights they were equal. This forced men to look inward at the natural rights of man; outward at the general development thereof in history. It led to the attempt to establish a Democracy, which, so far as Measures are concerned, is the government of all, for all, by all; so far as moral Principle is concerned, it is the enactment of God's Justice into human laws. There was a struggle of the many against the few; for man's nature, with its instinct of progressive and perpetual development, against the accidents of man's history. It was an effort to establish the eternal law of God against the provisional caprice of tyrants. I do not mean to say that these great purposes and ideas existed consciously in the minds of men. They were in men's character, not in their convictions; they came out in their life more than in their speech. They were in men as botany is in this plant, as chemistry in this drop of water, as gravitation which rounds it to a globe and brings it to the ground. But the camelia knows not the botany it lives; the drop of water knows nothing of the chemistry which has formed it, arranging its particles "by number, and measure and weight"; it knows not the gravitation which brings it to the ground. So it was the great soul of humanity that stirred in our fathers' heart; it was the Providence of God working by the men who formed the State.

From 1620 to 1788 there was a rapid development of ideas. But since that time the outward pressure has been withdrawn. The nation is no longer called to protest against a foreign foe; no despot forces us to fall back on the principles of human nature, and declare great universal truths. Even the Anglo-Saxon people are always metaphysical in revolution. We have ceased to be such, and have become material. We have let the programme of political principles and purposes slip out of our nation's consciousness, and have betaken ourselves, body and soul, to the creation of riches. Wealth is the great object of American desire. Covetousness is the American passion. This is so—nationally in the political affairs of the country; ecclesiastically, socially, domestically, individually. Our national character, political institutions, geographic situation—all favour the accummulation of riches. I thank God that we are thus rich!

No country was ever so rich before, nor got rich so fast; in none had wealth ever so much power, or was so esteemed. It is counted as the end of life, not as the material basis to higher forms thereof. It has no conventional check in the institutions of the land, and only two natural checks in the heart of the people. One is the talent and genius—intellectual, moral, affectional, and religious—that is born in rare men; and the other is the desire, the caprice, the opinion, of the great majority of men, who oppose their collective human will against the material glitter of mere accumulated money. But money can buy intellectual talent and intellectual genius; at least it can buy American talent and American genius. Money, and the men of cultivated minds whom it buys, can deceive the people, so that the majority shall follow the dollar wherever it rolls. The clink of the dollar—that is the *reveille*, the morning drum-beat, for the American people. In America, money is inaugurated as a power to control all other powers. It has itself become an "Institution"—master of all the rest.

Three of those bad institutions that I named, whereof our fathers brought the traditions from the old world, have mainly perished. The mediæval Theocracy has gone out from the Protestant Church; Monarchy has wholly faded from the consciences of the people; Aristocracy, sitting unmovable on her cradle, has had her heart pierced through and through by the gigantic spear of American Industry horsed on a steam-engine. Money has taken the place of all three. It has got inaugurated into the Church—it is a Church of commerce; in the State—it is a State of commerce; in the Community not less—it is a Society of commerce; and money wields the triple power of those three old masters, Theocracy, Monarchy, Aristocracy. It is the Almighty Dollar.

In the American Church, money is God. The peculiar sins of money, and of the rich, they are never preached against; it is a Church of commerce, wealth its heaven and the millionaire its saint; its ministers should be ordained, not "by the imposition of hands," but of bank bills—of small denomination. In the American State, money is the Constitution: officers ought to be sworn on the federal currency; they should make the sign of the dollar ($) as their official symbolic cross; it is a State of commerce. In the community, money is Nobility; it is transmissable social power; it is Aristocracy, it makes a man who has got it a vulgar "gentleman"; it is a Society of commerce. Nay, in the family, money is thought better than love, and the daughter who fascinates and coaxes and courts and weds a bag of gold, gets the approbation of her mother and her father's benediction, "Many daughters have done *virtuously*, but thou excellest them all."

> "None but the *rich* deserve the fair."

The fourth bad institution whose tradition our fathers brought, Despotocracy, the rule of the master over the slave whom he exploiters—that has not yet shared the fate of Theocracy, Monarchy, and Aristocracy. It is still preserved; it leagues itself with money, and builds up anew in America the old corrupt family of the middle ages. In New York, it clothes the white flunkeys of the Hon. Dives Gotrich with an imitated livery; in New Orleans, and in more than half the land, it takes those whom Nature has clothed in a sable livery, and makes them its slaves. Despotocracy alone could not accomplish this. The wickedness is foreign to the American Idea of a State, a Community, a Church. But leaguing with money, which has taken the place of all those old institutions, it is this day the strongest power in the nation.

Money having take the place of these three institutions, it must be politically represented in the nation by a party: for a party is the political organization of a tendency. So there is a party, organized about the Dollar as its central nucleus and idea. The dollar is the germinal dot of the Whig party; its motive is pecuniary; its motto should be, to state it in Latin, *pecunia pecuniata*, money monied, money made. It sneers at the poor; at the many; has a contempt for the people. It legislates against the poor, and for the rich; that is, for men pecuniarily strong; the few who are born with the desire, the talent, and the conventional position to become rich. "Take care of the rich, and they will take care of the poor," is its secret maxim. Everything must yield to money: that is to have universal right of way. Down with mankind! the Dollar is coming! The great domestic object of Government, said the greatest Expounder of this party, "is the protection of property"; that is to say, the protection of money monied, money got. With this party, there is no Absolute Right, no Absolute Wrong. Instead thereof, there is Expediency, and Inexpediency. There is no law higher than the power to wield money just as you will. Accordingly, a millionaire is reckoned by this party as the highest production of society. He is the Whig ideal; he alone has attained "the measure of the stature of a perfect man."

Singular to say, most of the great public charities of America have been founded by men of this party; most of the institutions of learning, the hospitals and asylums of all kinds.

puli vox Dei; the vote settles what is true, what right. It regards money made and hoarded as the foe of human progress, and so is hostile to the millionaire. The Whig calls on his lord, "Money, help us!" To get money, the Democrat can do all things through the majority strengthening him.

The Catholic does homage to the wafer which a baker made, and a celibate priest addressed in Latin: it is to him the body of the Catholic God. The Protestant worships the Bible, a book written with ink, in Hebrew and Greek, "translated out of the original tongues, appointed to be read in churches." To him it is the word of God, the Protestant God. In the same way the Whig party worships money: it is the body of the Whig God; there is no higher law above it. The Democratic party worships the opinion of the majority: it is the voice of the Democrat's God: there is no higher law. To the Whig party—no matter how the money is got, by smuggling opium or selling slaves—it is *pecunia pecuniata*—money monied. To the Democratic party it is of no consequence what the majority wishes, or whom it chooses: Polk is as strong as Jackson—when voted in; and Pierce as great as Jefferson—for office makes all men equally tall. Once the Democracy manfully protested against England's oppressing American sailors—but refused to protect a coloured seaman—and now it basely protests against America making any black man free. Once it went to war—righteously, perhaps, for aught I know—in order to take a Marblehead fisherman out of a British ship, where he had been wickedly impressed. Now the same Democracy covets Cuba and Mexico, and seeks to make slaves out of millions of men, and spread Slavery everywhere. If the majority wants to violate the Constitution of America and the Declaration of Independence, or the Constitution of the Universe and the Declaration of God, why! the cry is—"there is no higher law!" "the greatest good of the greatest number!" What shall become of the greatest good of the smaller number?

There is, therefore, no vital difference between the Whig party and Democratic party; no difference in moral principle. The Whig inaugurates the money got; the Democrat inaugurates the Desire to get the money. That is all the odds. So in the times that try the passions, which are the souls of these parties, the Democrat and the Whig meet on the same Baltimore platform. One is not higher and the other lower; they are just alike. There is only a hand rail between the two, which breaks down if you lean on it, and the parties mix. In common times, it becomes plain that a Democrat is but a Whig on time; a Whig is a Democrat arrived at maturity; his time has come. A Democrat is a young Whig who will legislate for money as soon as he has got it; the Whig is an old Democrat who once hurrahed for the majority—"Down with money! that is a despot! and up with the desire for it! Down with the rich, and up with the poor!" The young man, poor, obscure, and covetous, in 1812 was a Democrat, went a-privateering against England; rich, and accordingly "one of our eminent citizens," in 1851 he was a Whig, and went a-kidnapping against Ellen Craft and Thomas Simms.

Bedini's hand is "thicker than itself with brother's blood." Young Democrats very properly burnt him in effigy. Old Democrats, wanting to be President, took him to their hearts. The young ones will also grow up in time to honour such future Nuncios of the Pope. I once knew a crafty family which had two sons; both men of ability, and of remarkable unity of "principle." The family invested one in each party, and as it had a *head* on either side of the political penny thrown into the air, the family was sure to win. A New England Family, wise in its generation!

Now, I do not mean to say that all Democrats or all Whigs are of this way of thinking. Quite the contrary. There is not a Whig or Democrat who would confess it. The majority, so far as they have convictions, are very different from this; but the Whig would say in his convention, that I told the truth of the Democratic party; the Democrat, in his convention, would say, I told the truth of the Whigs. These ideas—they reside in the two parties, as botany in this camelia, as chemistry in the water, as in the drop the gravitation which brings it to the ground; not a conviction, but a fact. Each of these parties has great good to accomplish. Both seem indispensable. Money must be looked after. It is a valuable thing; the human race could not do without property. It is the ladder whereby we scale the heavens of manhood. But property alone is good for nothing. The will of the majority must be respected. I honour the ideas of the Democratic party, and of the Whig party, so far as they are just. But man is not made merely for money; the majority are the standard of power, not of Right. There is a law of God which directs the chink of every dollar; it cannot roll except by the laws of the Eternal Father of Earth and Heaven. What if the majority enact iniquity into a statute! Can millions make Wrong right? Justice is the greatest good of all.

With little geographical check or interference from other nations, we are going on solving our problem of "manifest destiny." Since the establishment of Independence, America has made a rapid development. Her population has increased with unexampled rapidity; her territory has enlarged to receive her ever greatening family; riches have been multiplied faster even than their possessors. But some of the least lovely qualities of the Anglo-Saxon tribe have become dreadfully apparent. We have exterminated the Indians; we keep no treaties made with the red men; they keep all. The national materialism and indifference to great universal principles of Right shows itself clearer and clearer. Submission to Money or the Majority is the one idea that pervades the nation. There are few great voices in the American churches which dare utter the Eternal Justice of the Infinite God and rebuke the wickedness of the nation, or talk as with a trumpet COME UP HIGHER. We have taken a feeble tribe of men and made them Slaves; we kidnap the baby newly born; tear him from his mother's arms, sell him like swine in the market; the children of Jefferson and Madison are Slaves in the Christian Republic. The American treats his African victims with the intensest scorn. Even in Boston, spite of Constitution and Statute Law, they are ignominiously thrust out of the common school. The Clergy are the anointed defenders of Slavery. The Whig party loves Slavery as a tool for making money; the Democratic party, however, has the strongest antipathy to the African, and uses him for the same purpose. How many great American politicians care for him?

To obtain any considerable office in America, a man must conciliate one of these two—the Money power or the Majority power. But the particular body which sways the destinies of the nation, or its politics, is an army of Slaveholders, some three hundred thousand strong. They direct the money; they sway the majority; and are the controlling force in America. They have been so for more than sixty years. I cannot now stop and weary you with

[Continued on Fourth Page.]

Selections.

LETTER FROM CASSIUS M. CLAY.

WHAT SHALL THE FRIENDS OF REPUBLICANISM DO?

To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: When, some years ago, I had the honour of replying to an invitation of a portion of the members of the New York Legislature to address them upon the Slavery question, I was thought by many a fanatic because I avowed that it was not a question about the African, but "whether we ourselves should be freemen or slaves." Since then, what is there sacred in the Constitution, in treaties, in laws, in guarantees of liberty, which has not been desecrated?

And now at last those "compromises" by which so many of us were humbugged—which were exalted above the "higher law" of Revelation and Conscience, are themselves trampled under foot—and by the repeal of the Missouri restriction, by revolutionary means, a continent lies in the dust at the feet of the slavocrats!

Thus far our republicanism is a failure. Shall we "give up the ship?" Shall we return as the dog to his vomit, and clothe ourselves once more in the cast-off rags of despotism, admitting ourselves incapable of self-government and national existence?

For my part, though sad, very sad, I am not despondent. Let us use the reason God has given us to remedy the past, and make secure the future. The violation of God's laws is always woe. We committed a national crime in joining hands with the slaveholders to commit a determined wrong against the rights of the African, and now in due season the poisoned chalice is returned to our own lips.

I am not prepared to say with the Garrisonians that we are to break away at once by revolution from this criminal alliance; but I do say that our only salvation, because the only true repentance, is in making the overthrow of Slavery our dominant idea.

The one idea of the slaveholders which overrides all principles and measures is the rule of Slavery. So it must be met, not incidentally—not occasionally—not compromisingly, by the friends of liberty, but with a oneness of purpose, and vivacity and fanaticism of will equal to theirs.

Does any man believe that in a fair contest between Liberty and Slavery, the wrong will triumph? I do not.

What, then, shall be done? 1. In the first place, punish the *traitors*, as an example for all future times. I honestly believe that every man of the free States who voted for the repeal of the Missouri restriction deserves death! But there is no legal way of inflicting the penalty—the halter then they must escape. But one thing can be done—break them on the wheel of public opinion. Let no man deal with them in business—banish them from the social circle, and disfranchise them practically forever! This seems hard, but the race of traitors must die before we can live.

2. Let the elections, even for the most inferior offices, turn upon the repeal of the Nebraska bill, or its amendment, so that the *people* of the territory shall have the unqualified right to vote Slavery out. To do this, the free trader must give up his free trade—the tariff man, his tariff—manufactures, shipping, internal improvement, temperance, schools, all must, for the present, be held in abeyance to the one great question, shall America be free or slave!

3. Although I think the Free Democracy are best based to achieve the end, we must tolerate and recognise all parties who will aid, as allies. In a Congressional District where the Free Democrats have a supposed larger force, let the Whigs and Democrats renominate the Free Democratic ticket. And where the Whigs or Democrats have a supposed larger force, let the Free Democrats renominate the Whig or Democratic ticket; so as to defeat the *serviles* of all parties. In the Presidential Nominating Convention, let a delegate be sent from each Congressional District in the Union, of that party which has the Congressman, and let them vote a common candidate. Such a candidate, thus nominated, can, in my opinion, be elected triumphantly in 1856. Let that candidate, whether Benton, Seward, or Hale, or any other good citizen, be chosen without regard to his locality in a Free or Slave State. For our party is truly national—theirs sectional!

4. Let us count the cost. All are, I imagine, now convinced that the extreme South is anticipating the dissolution of the American Union, and have been and now are using the nation all the time for their own ultimate aggrandizement. We must, therefore, calculate what is to be the result of our success. Suppose, then, a Republican elected President, on the issue above stated, and that the ultras of the South, in their madness, overawe the more thoughtful citizens, and secede from Congress, and declare the Union dissolved. Then either we must whip them in or allow a peaceable separation, as circumstances shall warrant. If we fight her, we have the advantage of being the Government de facto. We have the organization—the treasury—the navy, and the army. If victorious, we could compel emancipation. If defeated, we would be abundantly able to maintain our national existence against the world. And with Canada, Western Virginia, Kentucky, and Mississippi (which would probably unite with us), annexed, we would form a more powerful people than even now.

In such event, all the central portion of North America would be ours; and should Northern Mexico prefer our allegiance, as she no doubt would, as cotton grows upon all sorts of soil in a given latitude, we would even be able to raise abundantly that plant, and the sugar cane, for which so many seem now willing to sell their liberties.

Under the railroad system, we have less need to regard boundaries by mountains and water-courses, and even in that respect the lakes, the St. Lawrence and the Columbia, to us would be what the Mississippi is now. While the oceans would wash us on the northeast and west, we could well bide our time to expand our dominions over the feeble masters of the South to the Gulf of Mexico.

But the probabilities are that the South would see her only safety in the Union, and "*acquiesce*" in the "manifest destiny" of the triumph of human rights, and begin in earnest to clear herself of Slavery. Till at last we would become peaceably a homogeneous people, and "Liberty and Union" be forever established.

But I have already made this letter too long.

For myself, I am ready to complete the sacrifice and triumph of our fathers of 1776 at all hazards. I am for no Union without Liberty. If need be through dissolution and war, "*I stand by the declaration*," trusting ever, till Republicanism is vindicated and the liberties of mankind achieved.

Very respectfully, your friend, C. M. CLAY.

MAZZINI ON AMERICAN SLAVERY.

THE following is a copy of Mazzini's eloquent letter, to which I referred in a recent communication. I am sorry that I have not been able to send it before now. It is addressed to the Chairman of the Anti-Slavery Society, Dr. Beard. F. W. C.

DEAR SIR: I have delayed to the present moment answering your kind invitation, in the hope that I should perhaps be enabled to give a better answer than a written one. But finding that neither health nor business will allow me to attend, I must write and express to you, and through you to your friends, how much I feel grateful for your having asked me to attend the first meeting of "the North of England Anti-Slavery Association"; how earnestly I sympathize with the noble aim you are going to pursue; how deeply I shall commune with your efforts, and help, if I can, their success. No man ought ever to inscribe on his flag the sacred word 'Liberty' who is not prepared to shake hands cordially with those, whoever they are, who will attach their names to the Constitution of your Association. Liberty must be the godlike gift of all races—of all nations—of every being who bears on his brow the stamp of MAN, or sink to the level of a narrow and mean self-interest, unworthy of the tears of the good and the blood of the brave. I am yours because I believe in the unity of God—yours because I believe in the unity of mankind—yours because I believe in the educability of the whole human race, and in a heavenly law of Infinite Progression for all—yours because the fulfilment of this law implies the consciousness and the responsibility of the agent, and neither consciousness nor responsibility can exist in Slavery—yours because I have devoted my life to the emancipation of my own country, and I would feel unequal to the task, a mere rebel, not an Apostle of Truth and Justice, had I not felt from my earliest youth that Right and Duty of revolting against lies and tyranny were grounded on a far higher sphere than that of the welfare of one single nation; that they must start from a belief in a Principle which will have sooner or later to be universally applied—*One God, one Humanity, one Law, one Love from all for all.* Blessed be your efforts if they start from this high ground of a common faith—if you do not forget whilst at work for the emancipation of the black man, the millions of white slaves suffering, struggling, expiring in Italy, in Poland, in Hungary throughout all Europe—if you always remember that freemen only can achieve the work of freedom, and that Europe's appeal for the abolition of Slavery in other lands will not weigh all-powerful before God and men, while Europe herself shall be desecrated by arbitrary, tyrannical power by Czars, Emperors and Popes.

Ever faithfully yours,

—*Wesleyan.*] JOSEPH MAZZINI.

A CANADIAN VIEW OF A GREAT QUESTION.

A NORTHERN COMMONWEALTH.

THE day is not so far distant as some people imagine when the vast country which now bears the name of British America will form an independent State. Everything tends to hasten it. The American Union is crumbling to pieces. It will probably not survive more than ten years. By that time the Provinces, of which Canada is the chief, will have a population of five millions, if not more. The communication between the agricultural districts of the West and the seaboard, by railway, will have made them commercially independent. In the maritime provinces large cities will have grown up. Halifax will have begun to rival Boston; and the great commercial depots of western Canada will pour their exhaustless treasures oceanward, by the great inter-provincial lines of railway. The import trade of Canada was last year nearly £8,000,000—its exports almost £6,000,000. The territory of which this Province is the centre extends over an area equal to more than one-tenth part of the surface of the globe. Its resources—when every allowance has been made for the sterile and desert districts of the North and West—may be said, without any figure of speech, to be exhaustless. It is a territory larger than the United States by upward of 700,000 square miles. Its population will be mainly Anglo-Saxon. The Celtic element will be eaten up, or die out with the abolition of the feudalism of Lower Canada. Then it will contain few elements of weakness. There will be no Slavery to sap the foundation of its institutions. And herein will be its strength. It is not we who predict that the neighbouring Union is doomed to perish; the best and wisest men within its own borders regard it as inevitable; and nothing was ever more legibly written on the face of concurrent events than that the northern States will ultimately, and at no distant day, be constrained to sue for annexation to Canada and the sister Provinces and Territories of the North. If anything had been wanting to set the seal to that prediction, it was assuredly accomplished when 400,000 square miles of the best territory of the Union was surrendered to Slavery, the other day, at Washington.

But the Provinces have something to do to prepare for that issue. They may own a territory equal to a tenth part of the surface of the globe; they may number a population of five or even ten millions; they may have lines of internal communication which would challenge the world; but before they aspire to become the chief power on the continent of America, their intelligence will have to keep pace with their material growth. If, with their unmeasurable resources, their boundless territory, their impregnable position, their natural geographical advantages, these provinces but combine the invaluable resources of intelligence and industry, with a love for moral order and religious principle, we can place no limit to their future greatness. And what may now seem a sanguine speculation will as certainly follow as ever cause was followed by effect.—*Toronto Examiner.*

KIDNAPPING IN OHIO.

HORRIBLE MURDER OF A FREE COLOURED MAN.

ON Thursday, May 25th, about noon, a coloured man was passing on the Columbus and Xenia pike near Cedarville; he was of middle age and of respectable appearance. He was alone, and was suspected of being a fugitive slave. Poor man, he little thought how near the end of the journey of life he had arrived. Perhaps he *was* a fugitive, the labour of whose life had been another's and who was struggling to realize the dream of his life, the enjoyment of liberty. But, alas for his dream, the eye of the man-thief was upon him!—alas for our Christian country that legalizes the theft!

He was overtaken by a man in a buggy, who professed to be a friend of the coloured man, and who invited him to ride, promising to assist him in procuring his liberty; the invitation was accepted, and the man pursued his journey, asking the assistance of such as he met to buy the freedom of the alleged slave. On some pretence he took the Jamestown road, and drove to the house of Chapman, three miles south of Selma, in Greene County. After he had been there a short time, it was observed by the neighbours that Chapman and his son were assisting in beating and tying the negro. They were seen to place him in the buggy, and the younger Chapman and the stranger get in with him and drive off with speed.

These facts came to the ears of Daniel P. Wilson and Joseph Laird, who disguised themselves as slave-hunters, and appeared at Chapman's in the night. They succeeded in getting from the younger Chapman facts enough to make out a pretty strong case of kidnapping. On Friday morning they had them arrested, and J. P. Little bound them over to court to answer a charge of kidnapping.

They then set upon young Chapman to tell where the man was gone with the negro; persuading him that would be the best way for him to escape. After several vain attempts to deceive them, he set out, as he said, to show them where they had left the negro tied. They followed him, and found the dead body in a thick wood, one mile south of Clifton. The neighbourhood was soon astir, and while preparations were made for an inquest, Samuel Howell, who had interested himself in the affair from the beginning, went to Xenia in pursuit of the stranger, whose name was ascertained to be McCord. He found that he had seemed to enjoy himself as usual on Friday, and had left in the evening for Spring Valley. He offered fifty dollars for his arrest, and he was with some difficulty taken before evening on Saturday, and was lodged in Xenia jail.

Meanwhile, an inquest was held over the body, and the testimony of Wm. Chapman elicited the following facts

"On Thursday, May 25th, a man whose name I have since learned is Wm. McCord, drove up to my father's house, in company with a coloured man, and asked my father if there were any Abolitionists, or Quakers on that road. Reply, no! Then said, he had a fugitive whom he would like to assist in purchasing his freedom; and asked my father if he would help him. Reply, no! he would rather help him back into Slavery. He then ordered his horse fed, and, as I was taking him to the stable, McCord, negro and father went into the kitchen. Soon after, my sister ran out of the house crying that they were killing a man in the house; I went to the house, found negro and McCord in the act of falling on the floor—negroes head was bleeding. Soon after McCord gave me a hitching-strap and asked me to tie him, and while I was making a slip noose he struck the negro over the head with a colt, having hold of his throat with the other hand. His hands were then tied behind him, and he put into another room. I then went to neighbour's to procure a pistol, having been persuaded to accompany McCord to Cincinnati. Soon after the negro got loose and ran down the road, Mc. ran after him crying 'stop him'—'catch the d——d horse-thief,' &c., my father and I following him; negro picked up a stone, the man a club, and struck him on the head, so that he did not throw the stone. He was then tied, and assisted by my father and the man to walk to the buggy. Mc. ordered me to assist in tying, and then go with him to Cincinnati, saying that he would give me half the reward ($200) if I would. Myself and Mc. then got into the buggy with the negro, and drove off under whip. We had not gone over two or three miles before the negro died, and after taking him two or three miles further, put him out, and left him as now discovered."

The coroner's jury gave in substance the following verdict:

Deceased came to his death by blows from a colt and club in the hands of one Wm. McCord, assisted by the two Chapmans.

Chapman's testimony was given in such a manner as to show that he was falsifying, and part of the facts were drawn from him by involving him in contradictions.

He said Mc. made him a proposition to join and follow kidnapping for a business, stating that he knew where he could get four victims immediately.—*Wilmington (Ohio) Herald of Freedom.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns, should be addressed to SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, New York.

Donations to the Treasury of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY may be forwarded to FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer, at Boston; or to SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, New York.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 17, 1854.

SETTLEMENT OF KANSAS AND NEBRASKA.

THE Missouri Restriction having been removed, the slaveholders are now plotting the introduction of Slavery into the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska; and if the friends of freedom do not act with promptness and energy, their efforts to counteract the perfidious scheme will fail. The Slavocracy has the start, and, with all the power and patronage of the General Government on its side, it will make a desperate struggle. Richard Mendenhall, the Teacher in the Friends' Mission in Kansas, warns the North that Slavery has already been introduced there in the extensive missionary establishment of the Southern Methodist Church, whose Superintendent, having adroitly contrived to get elected Delegate to Congress in advance of any legal organization of the Territory, was in Washington all winter, using his utmost efforts to secure the passage of Douglas's bill. The "squatters," who have gone into the Territory in defiance of treaty stipulations with the Indians, are mostly from Missouri, and of the sort that always go for Slavery and "manifest destiny". This class have already organized themselves under the name of "claimants," and adopted certain regulations designed to favour their exclusive claims to all the best lands in the Territory. They declare themselves in favour of Douglas's bill, and then set up a sort of lynch-code, to be in force until that bill gets into operation. The Indian title to the lands not being extinguished, the law prohibits emigrants from settling thereon without a license from the Government. The Administration will of course see to it that licenses are given only to those of the true Southern stripe. This business being in the hands of Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War and file-leader of the Slavery Propaganda, will no doubt be managed with skill. While Southern emigrants will pour into the Territory by hundreds, perhaps by thousands, carrying with them their slaves, no effort will be spared to keep out the free labourers of the North and West. The *Ann Arbor* (Mich.) *Whig* of May 31 states that a gentleman, upon whose accuracy full reliance may be placed, writes that while at St. Louis, a few days since, he saw a number of gangs of slaves *en route* for Nebraska, under the charge of their owners. The St. Louis *Intelligencer* of a late date says:

"We learn from a friend who has just reached the city from a trip through the Missouri river counties, that hundreds of Missourians have been eagerly awaiting the news of the passage of the Kansas and Nebraska Territory bills, and that a very large emigration will immediately cross the river"

The *Savannah* (Mo.) *Sentinel* says:

"Settling in Nebraska-Kansas, we learn from the *Gazette* and other sources, is going on rapidly. Hundreds of claims are already taken up opposite St. Joseph, and a meeting of settlers held. Not a day passes but new additions are made to the number. The Indian agent has issued a proclamation against trespassing on Indian lands, *but little heed is paid to it; the 'work goes bravely on.'* Nor do the hardy pioneers seem to fear the 'cold steel of the bayonets' with which they were threatened last fall. Impatient of the unreasonable delay of the Government in extinguishing Indian titles and organizing the Territory, the *people have determined to take the matter in their own hands.* The appropriation was made more than a year ago, and time enough elapsed for something to be done. The masses are now on the move. It is as we predicted. *Nor can the movement be arrested.*"

Says the Washington correspondent of the Richmond (Va.) *Enquirer*:

"If Kansas has a fair chance in the *organization* of the Territorial Government, there is but little doubt not only of its becoming a slave State, but a rich one. It is not at all to be wondered at that the South should have desired the repeal of the odious restriction, apart from the injustice of it."

The Philadelphia *Register* gives us valuable hints of what is going on in the slaveholding camp:

"Men of shrewdness, ambition and political experience have been engaged by the Slave Power to go to Kansas for the purpose of securing political influence among the settlers, and betraying them into the hands of the South. One of these tools of despotism is John C. O'Neill, late Consul at Belfast, who returned not long since from Ireland. After a short visit to Washington—where his devotion to Slavery and near relationship to Speaker Linn Boyd (he is Boyd's brother-in-law) won him the confidence of the managers—he is preparing to go to Kansas. It has leaked out that he goes with a large amount of funds and instructions to locate lands for settlers, and also with the promise of the administration that he shall be returned as one of the first Senators from the new State. His chief pursuit will, of course, be paving the way for that promotion.

"Let no Northern citizens think there is no danger of the introduction of Slavery into Kansas. Let no freeman be deluded by the lying cry of the Pierce papers about "*self-government.*" Pierce, Jeff. Davis and Douglas have secured for themselves the vantage ground in every way. The Kansas act says:

"'And be it further enacted, That the Governor, Secretary, Chief Justice and Associate Justices, Attorney and Marshal, shall be nominated, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed by the President.'

"This pro-slavery Governor, appointed by Pierce for four years, removable at pleasure, is commander-in-chief of the militia, grants pardons, respites and reprieves, commissions all officers, is charged with the execution of the laws; appoints all the subordinate township, district and county officers until the end of the first Legislative Assembly; lays off, unaided and alone, "the necessary districts for members of the Council and House of Representatives, and all other officers"; appoints the persons who are to superintend the elections; directs how the returns shall be made; declares the number of members of the Council and House to which each district is entitled; counts the votes and says who is elected; and can veto every act of the Territorial Legislature, subject to a two-thirds vote in each branch. Louis Napoleon himself asked no greater powers than these. The Governor of Kansas or Nebraska is likely to be absolute master of his territory for two years, unless an energetic and compact organization be immediately made against him. The object of the friends of freedom and Kansas should be to secure, at the first election, every one of the thirty-nine Concilmen and Representatives.

"The judiciary will be appointed by the slaveholding faction. The Chief Justice, Associate Justice, Attorney and Marshal will be sent there to wield the terrors of the law against every movement in favour of freedom, to declare Slavery constitutional, to protect the claims of slaveholders, to nullify acts passed by two-thirds of the Territorial Legislature in defiance of the Governor's veto, to forbid trial by jury, to carry out the Fugitive Slave law, to prevent the people of the Territory from having the slightest control over the subject. Every case involving title to slaves, it is provided in the Act, may be taken before the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, a majority of whom are slaveholders, and the rest pledged doughfaces."

We hear from Washington that Messrs. Benton, Campbell of Ohio, and Mace of Indiana, have been thoroughly investigating the Nebraska swindle, and they discover that the bill was not, as its friends alleged, the Senate bill without the Clayton amendment, but that it contained a clause declaring that no person, other than a citizen of the United States, should hold office until they had sworn to support the extension of Slavery, by taking oath in support of the bill. The Act also provides that all laws of Congress locally applicable shall continue in force. Among the laws so applicable is one enacted in 1834, excluding all foreigners who have not passports from the War Department, under penalty of $1,000, and the passport limits the time foreigners are permitted to remain therein. If this view be correct, the popular sovereignty of the act, after all, excludes all foreigners without passports. Great excitement has been produced by these discoveries, and Mr. Mace has introduced a bill on the subject.

In spite of all these obstacles, large bodies of Germans are reported to be on their way to Kansas. The Emigrant Aid Association, of which we gave some account last week, is going forward vigorously and preparing to send out a large number of emigrants at an early day. Men of large capital are enlisted in the scheme. The following persons constitute an Executive Committee for New York, viz.: Messrs. Charles King, Jacob Westervelt, William R. Russell, John L. Mason, William F. Camp, Charles W. Elliott, Rev. Dr. Adams, Moses H. Grinnell, John J. Cornell, Thaddeus Hyatt, Jonathan Coddington, William F. Havemeyer, Peter Cooper, Isaac C. Kendall, Shepherd Knapp, John E. Develin, George Newbold, J. Earl Williams, B. F. Butler, Anthony J. Bleecker, John N. Genin, John Keyser, A. Schaeffer, Simeon Draper, and Judge Daly.

It is thought by gentlemen who have studied the whole subject that 20,000 emigrants, every one of whom will be a determined foe of Slavery, can be sent to Kansas by means of this company before next winter.

MEETING OF CLERGYMEN.

WE learn from the *Commonwealth* that a large meeting of Clergymen of various denominations was held at the rooms of the Tract Society in Boston, on Thursday, June 1st., under a call issued by the Rev. Henry M. Dexter, Pastor of the Pine St. (Cong.) Church in that city, to consider the Slavery question, and to take counsel together regarding the course which they should adopt and pursue respecting the late outrage of Congress upon the religious feelings of the Northern community. Rev. Lyman Beecher, D.D., Prof. Stowe, Rev. Edward Beecher, D. D., Rev. George Allen, Rev. Rufus Clark, Rev. Mr. Wolcott, Rev. Dr. Cleveland, Rev. Dr. Hall (Unitarian), of Providence, and others, took part in the proceedings. Judging from the *Commonwealth's* brief report, we should say that the spirit of the meeting was such as to encourage a hope that at least a portion of the clergy of New England are about to take higher ground on the Slavery question than that which they have hitherto occupied. We speak hesitatingly, because an experience of twenty years has made us distrustful of any movement on the part of the clergy. There was however some plain-speaking on the occasion; let us hope that it was something better than mere words. Dr. Edward Beecher said the church had been remiss in the matter of opposition to Slavery. "We should seek," said he, "to find out *why* the Church has been running *down*, DOWN, DOWN, in its action; and *why* its efforts to stay the advance of the terrible evil have grown weaker and weaker every year. If we intend to live as a nation, we must take a new stand upon this question, and, as a Church, we must put on fine, clean linen—we must go to the bottom of this evil, and take a position which God will approve and which we can firmly maintain." Others, also, spoke in a similar strain. The following resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, The recent action of Congress has made a new crisis, threatening the vital interests of freedom, and whereas, it is of the highest importance that the relations of clergymen to this whole subject be clearly settled, therefore,

Resolved, That in the sense of this meeting, it is expedient that the clergymen of New England meet in Convention to consult and to determine their duty in the present exigency.

Resolved, That a committee of seven be appointed by the chair to nominate a permanent committee of twelve to co-operate with the clergymen of all denominations, in carrying into effect the foregoing resolution.

The following persons constitute the Committee provided for in the last resolution; Rev. John Pierpont, Rev. J. W. Olmstead, Dr. E. Beecher, Dr. J. P. Cleveland, Prof. C. E. Stowe, Dr. W. T. Dwight, Rev. H. M. Dexter, Rev. S. Wolcott, Rev. E. N. Kirk, Dr. E. B. Hall, Rev. R. W. Clark, Rev. Dr. Alvan Pond.

It was also resolved that the clergy of *all* the religious denominations be invited to participate in the movement, and it was suggested that every Church be requested to send to the Convention at least six lay delegates, and the Pastor of the Church.

—The above was prepared for publication last week, but was omitted for want of room. The following paragraph from the *Christian Register* of last week contains later information.

The suggested Clerical Convention, on the subject of Slavery, we learn, has not been determined upon by the Committee, to whom the matter was referred, and probably will not be. We are glad to learn this. Without going into argument, we are clearly of the opinion, that this is not the country and this is not the age for class action in regard to principles and measures which concern the whole community. Such action raises side-issues and brings into the discussion of such principles and measures, prejudices, partialities, and idiosyncracies, that do more harm than good. As *men and as citizens*, let the great emergency be met. Whether Slavery shall rule or Liberty rule in this republic is the real question, and that is a question of equal importance to all.

THE BOSTON SLAVE CASE.

EXHIBITIONS OF POPULAR FEELING.

UPON the receipt of the intelligence that Burns had been surrendered by Commissioner Loring, the bells on the churches were tolled in New Bedford, Fall River, Springfield, Pepperell, Worcester, North Danvers, Manchester, Haverhill, Acton, Natick, and many other places.

In Worcester, a large meeting was held on the Common, while the stores of many of the principal merchants were draped in mourning. The flag of the United States, reversed, furled, draped with black, and raised half mast high, was hoisted on the liberty pole on the Common.

In Acton, the monument erected to the memory of Capt. Davis, who fell at Concord Bridge on the 19th of April, 1775, was dressed in deep mourning, and the American flag was reversed at half-mast, and also in mourning.

In Salem, many of the buildings were dressed in mourning.

In North Bridgewater, Loring, the Commissioner, was hung in effigy on Saturday night. The inscription upon the image (which remained during the Sabbath) was—

"*Commissioner Loring*:
The memory of the wicked shall rot."

In Worcester, on Sunday morning, four effigies were discovered suspended upon the common. They were severally labelled, "Pontius Pilate Loring, the unjust Judge"; "Ben Hallett, the kidnapper"; "Caleb Cushing, the bloodhound"; and "Frank Pierce, Satan's journeyman." They were committed to the lock-up. They were attached with halters about six feet long, to the halyards of the Liberty Pole, one of the ends of which was fastened to the pole, about thirty feet from the ground, and the other to the top of a large elm. A good deal of pains must have been taken in their preparation, as all the figures were well stuffed, with mask faces, hats decorated with the emblems of mourning, boots, &c. The *Spy* describes them thus:

"Mr. Cushing's eye appeared to be as badly damaged as was his leg in the ditch at Matamoras. The mask had fallen from Loring's face, and displayed him as the hollow-hearted sycophant that he is. "*Forma Viris et pretærea nihil.*" The form of a man and nothing else. Hallett's spectacles had dropped from his nose, but his countenance wore the usual fiendish expression, which characterizes the man. Frank Pierce appeared to have taken a drop too much, and we should judge that the circumstances under which he then was would compel him to forego his usual practice of attending church twice on the Sabbath."

At Haverhill, the President, Douglas, Cushing and Judge Loring, were hung in effigy.

In Watertown, South Reading and Weymouth, effigies of the Commissioner, variously labeled, were hung up as a spectacle to the people.

In Springfield, the same honour was awarded to President Pierce, Douglas, Hallett and Loring. The effigies of all except Douglas were honoured by a public burial: that of the "little giant" was cut down and burned at the stake!

The Women of Woburn sent to the Commissioner the following communication:

Edward Greeley Loring, Commissioner:

"Then one of the twelve, called Judas Iscariot, went unto the Chief Priests, and said unto them, What will you give me, and I will deliver him unto you? And they covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver." Matt., xxiv. 14, 15. And thus Christ was sold into the hands of his enemies. In imitation of the arch apostate, you have sold Christ in the person of Anthony Burns. That your name will go down to posterity with the stain of blood upon it, is as certain as in the case of the betrayer of the Author of our religion.

It is not to this end that we send you the enclosed thirty pieces of silver, but in order to show, in this marked manner, our abhorrence of your deed. We wish to show to the world that, in our view, no law can justify crime.

Judas did the whole thing legally; he received his pay from the proper authorities. He even consulted with them before he came to his decision. You, sir, have acted in the same manner; you have had your "hand of men and officers," from the CHIEF RULERS, your Freeman, your Hallett, and together you have betrayed innocent blood; at your door, also, lies the blood spilt in your city.

It is said that you have been in our beautiful town. We ask you never to come here again. We feel that we have been disgraced by your act in the eyes of the world, and that we could not bear your presence.

Sympathizing with the inhabitants of your district, we also ask you to resign your office as Judge of Probate. We feel that the rights of the widow and orphan cannot be safe in your hands.

Signed by thirty women of Woburn.
Woburn, June 3, 1854.

The Massachusetts *Spy* relates the following:

While the crowd were anxiously awaiting the appearance of the mournful *cortege* which was about to convey Burns to the hateful torment of a life of Slavery, a venerable man, in a Quaker's garb, made his appearance at the corner of State and Washington Street, with a carpet bag in hand, and edged his way along in the direction of the wharves. One or two persons recognised him, and proposed three cheers, which were given with a will. That man was Thomas Garrett, of Delaware, whom the Fugitive Slave Law has stripped of all his property. His farm was sold about two years since, in order to raise the money to satisfy an execution, levied for a fine of $5,000 under the Fugitive Slave Law. Mr. Garrett finds himself a poor man in his old age, but he has that which is better than riches, viz., a conscience void of offence towards God and man, and the happy consciousness of having enabled eighteen hundred and forty slaves to exchange the condition of chattelism for that of free men. Who would not rather be Thomas Garrett, in poverty, carrying his own carpet bag through the streets of Boston, than Frank Pierce at the head of the nation?

GERRIT SMITH extorts praise in quarters whence we are accustomed to look only for abuse of Abolitionists. For instance, the Washington Correspondent of the *Pensylvanian* speaks of him in highly flattering terms:

"Mr. Smith is generally admitted to be the most attractive speaker in the House. As you look upon his tall, commanding form—his broad, expansive forehead, his open, honest countenance—as you watch his soft winning smile, and see his mild eye kindle with emotion, but only emotion of the purer and better kind—and as you listen to the full, round tones of a matchless voice, swelling and swelling with the tide of feeling from an overflowing heart, you feel assured that *the man before you can have no lot nor part with such miscreants as Sumner, Giddings, Phillips and Parker.* He may be the unwavering opponent of Slavery; but you know that *he belongs not to the murdering abolition mob of Boston.* While the Sumners, Sewards, and Giddingses, of Congress, are shunned by their fellow-members, as being utterly unworthy of personal association, Gerrit Smith enjoys the respect and even good will of all."

Those who remember Mr. Smith's agency in the Jerry Rescue, and who are aware of his constant habit of speaking of Slavery as "piracy" and of slaveholders as "pirates," will smile at the contrast attempted to be drawn between him and the very men with whom he considers it an honour to be identified. Mr. Smith himself will smile at the intimation that he is less worthy than Phillips, Sumner, Giddings and Parker to be denominated as a "miscreant" and a "murderer."

The correspondent of the *New York Express* thus refers to the feeling exhibited by Southern men toward Mr. Smith:

"Mr. Smith, of Va. (Extra Billy), passed a glowing eulogium upon Gerrit Smith to-day, in the course of his remarks upon the New York Hard Manifesto. He gave him a cordial invitation to visit Virginia, and even to discuss there the subject of Slavery. On the conclusion of Gov. Smith's complimentary notice of Mr. Gerrit Smith, Mr. Clingman, of North Carolina, warmly shook the latter gentleman by the hand, and assured him that he concurred with all the gentleman from Virginia had said. *If Gerrit Smith is not on his guard, I am afraid he will be seduced from his allegiance to the cause in which he has been long enlisted.* He is evidently a great favourite with the Southern members, on account of his gentlemanly bearing, and the originality and novelty of his opinions. He is a greater abstractionist than old Mr. Tazewell, or the late Dr. Cooper, or Mr. Calhoun, and never addresses the House without commanding the closest attention. While Messrs. Sumner, Chase, Seward, and Giddings, are regarded with great aversion by the Southern delegations in both Houses, Mr. Smith, who is a more ultra Abolitionist than either of them, is caressed and admired. The reason for this singular apparent inconsistency is to be found, I conceive, in the belief that Mr. Smith is an Abolitionist from moral and religious convictions—the others from political motives and hatred to the South. Smith discusses the subject of Slavery in the spirit of a philanthropist and a Christian—they, in the spirit of demagogues and greedy aspirants for power and

GERMANS IN SOUTH CAROLINA.—The *Charleston (S. C.) Standard* rejoices over the arrival in that city of ninety-seven stout, healthy Germans, fresh from Bremen, and bound for the German settlements near the Walhalla in the upper part of the State. It bids them "welcome, thrice welcome," and hopes they will be followed by thousands of their countrymen. "It is such men as these," it continues, "that South Carolina requires. They will hew down the timber, dig up the underbrush, drain the marshes and make the land teem with fertility, where all before was a barren waste." The *Winnsboro Herald*, on the other hand, intimates that this emigration scheme is "a grand speculation," and says it does not join the *Standard* in its cordial greeting. It evidently snuffs danger to the peculiar institution from the settlement in the State of these hardy sons of toil from the old country. It thinks they will be "a discordant and perhaps revolutionary element" at some time not far distant. Its jealousy is very natural. The slaveholders who are determined to make Slavery perpetual will not tolerate any scheme designed to introduce free labourers into their dominions.

JOHN G. WHITTIER writes to Mr. Garrison as follows:

"I fully agree with thy remarks at the meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, in respect to the first duty of the friends of freedom. We must do what has never yet been done, convert the North. We must use this sad and painful occasion for this purpose. We must forget all past differences, and unite all our strength. Our work now is not in Virginia or Carolina, nor even at Washington; it is here—in Massachusetts. Get the people of the State right, and there will be no more of these hateful Commissioner trials; but around every inhabitant will be thrown the protection of just law.

"If I had any love for the Union remaining, the events of the last few weeks have 'crushed it out.' But I do not forget that the same power which is needed to break from the Union may make the Union the means of abolishing Slavery. At any rate, what we want now is an *Abolitionized North*. To this end, Unionists and Disunionists can both contribute. At least, let us have *union among ourselves*. In our hatred of Slavery, our sympathy for our afflicted coloured brethren, and in the indignation against the oppressor, we are already united—and let us now unite, as far as may be, in action. For one, my heart goes out to all, who in any way manifest love of liberty, and pity for the oppressed.

"Ever thy friend,

"JOHN G. WHITTIER."

COLOURPHOBIA IN THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—For some years past there has been a continuous effort to secure for the African Church of St. Thomas, in Philadelphia, an equal right of representation in the Diocesan Convention. Two years ago, we believe, Bishop Potter took strong ground against the unchristian regulation by which that Church is excluded, and last year a majority of the *clerical* delegates voted for its repeal, while a majority of the *lay* representatives ranged themselves on the other side; and, as no motion can be carried without the concurrence of both parties, the advocates of exclusiveness had their way. This year, after a warm discussion, the question was again put to vote with the following result. For rescinding the rule, clerical yeas 70—only 47 nays. For rescinding 31 *lay* delegates—opposed 41. This, we believe, shows a gain for the right over the vote of last year, and it is probable that in the course of a year or two the Pennsylvania Convention will follow that of New York in the repeal of a provision so utterly unchristian and barbarous.

CAMBRIDGE DIVINITY SCHOOL.—We have heard with much satisfaction that the Address to the Graduating Class in this institution is to be delivered the present year by Rev. W. H. Furness, of Philadelphia. The class have done themselves honour in selecting for that service one whose example as a preacher of righteousness is worthy of the imitation of all who aspire to the clerical office. It is pleasant to record such evidences as this that young men about to enter the pulpit are choosing for their models not the preachers of an icy conservatism, but the faithful champions of practical, vital Christianity—men who dare to testify in the name of God against popular sins.

THE N. Y. TRIBUNE'S CHRISTIANITY.—Last week the N. Y. *Tribune*, in an elaborate editorial article, said: "The awakening of the Anti-Slavery sentiment of the North was the saving of Religion, almost at its last gasp."

When was it that "Religion" was "almost at its last gasp?"—*Vermont Chronicle.*

Answer.—When its chief expounders stood forth as the apostles of slave-catching and scoffed at the Higher Law of God! When Atheism was preached in the American pulpits under the name of Christianity, and gray-haired divines quoted Scripture for the aid and comfort of kidnappers! Religion has had but a feeble and sickly existence in Vermont, often seeming "at its last gasp," ever since the *Chronicle* was acknowledged as its exponent.

EX-PRESIDENT FILLMORE was one of the party that went on the great Railroad Excursion from Rock Island to the Falls of the St. Anthony. The correspondent of the *Evening Post* says that, on the passage up the Mississippi, he made an ass of himself by running out upon the deck every time a dozen boys could be got to cry "Fillmore, Fillmore;" and the writer adds: "This is not my opinion alone, but the opinion of every one whom I have heard give an opinion upon the matter. If he really had an intelligent friend with him, that friend would have put a stop to his patriotic endeavours."

YEARLY MEETINGS OF FRIENDS.—We had no room last week to speak of the proceedings of the two branches of the Society of Friends whose yearly assemblies were recently held in this city. The Hicksite meeting did not, that we can learn, exhibit much earnestness in any direction save in its opposition to music, especially to the sin of playing on the piano-forte. The Slavery question was alluded to with some feeling by individuals, but the meeting, as such, took no action—at least none of any importance.

The Orthodox Friends, we understand, did give some signs of life on the great question of the age, but we have not heard what action was taken by the meeting.

RELATIONS WITH CANADA.—A treaty has been framed by the State Department at Washington with Lord Elgin, for the settlement of the Fishery Question and the establishment of reciprocal trade with Canada. It is said that several Southern Senators have declared that they will oppose this treaty unless it shall contain a clause for the surrender of fugitive slaves. It is quite likely that such a clause may be moved by way of amendment when the treaty comes before the Senate. Canada will not submit to such a proposition, but if she were ever so willing to do so, the home government would not let her.

WILLIAM WALKER, the leader of the marauding expedition against Sonora, was once editor of the New Orleans *Crescent* and a denouncer of fillibusterism. The expedition is now entirely broken up, and those of the party who survive are under arrest for violating the laws and treaty obligations of the United States. They are to be arraigned at San Francisco, where their offence will probably be regarded with a very charitable eye. Laws against fillibustering for the benefit of Slavery are not quite as sacred in the estimation of the United States officials as those which are intended to facilitate slave-catching.

MAN-HUNTING IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.—There was great excitement among the people of Manchester, N. H., on Sunday and Monday last, caused by a report that a couple of Virginians were on the track of a barber residing in that place. The man was said to have escaped from Virginia, where he was a slave, twelve years since. A purse was made up for him and he took the cars for Canada, accompanied by his wife and three children. President Pierce should send a deputation to Manchester forthwith, to "crush out" the treason that is evidently ripening there.

REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER is to deliver a Discourse before the graduating class of the Meadville (Pa.) Theological School (Unitarian) on the 28th instant.

MR. BUCHANAN.—EX-GOVERNOR JOHNSTON, of Pa., is reported as having said, at a recent meeting in Philadelphia, that he had in his pocket a letter of Hon. James Buchanan, in which that distinguished statesman had expressed the opinion that if that solemn compact, the Missouri Restriction, was violated, the Union would soon be dissolved. On the other hand, there are reports that Mr. Buchanan is about to come home from England to take the place of Secretary of State under the present Administration. If he is really opposed to the Nebraska perfidy, the fact is as strange as it is important.

ERRATUM.—There was an error in Mr. Parker's Speech before the New York Anti-Slavery Society, as published a few weeks since in the *Standard*, which, in justice to Mr. Parker, should be corrected. It is near the end of the closing paragraph, where he is made to say, "We are the *in*-voluntary instruments of God." For "involuntary" read *voluntary*. Mr. Parker is not a fatalist. The error, we are sorry to say, was transferred to the pamphlet edition of the speech. We shall correct in the copies sold hereafter.

SERMON ON THE BOSTON SLAVE CASE.—We have received a copy of an excellent discourse preached by Rev. James Freeman Clarke, Minister of the Church of the Disciples in Boston, upon the causes and consequences of the Rendition of Burns. Mr. Clarke handles the subject in a way which shows him to be thoroughly in earnest. He deals faithfully with the reponsible actors in the scenes by which Boston was so deeply disgraced.

MR. PARKER'S DISCOURSE.—We readily comply with a request recently made for the publication in the *Standard* of Rev. Theodore Parker's masterly sermon on the Nebraska Question. The pamphlet edition is entirely exhausted. It is long, but whoever begins it will read to the end, and wish for more. Of all the speeches that have been made on this question, whether in or out of Congress, this, in our judgment, is the most profound and thorough.

THE *New Bedford* (MASS.) *Standard* of the 12th says, "We have been assured from reliable sources that an attempt will be made to seize a negro in this city, under the Fugitive act, within a few days." New Bedford has a Mayor who will not imitate the example of the Mayor of Boston by aiding the slave-catcher. We shall not be surprised if he uses the force at his command for the protection of the fugitive.

WILLIAM WELLS BROWN, the *Liberator* informs us, is about to return to the United States, his friends in England having kindly contributed the amount necessary to secure his ransom from bondage. He is expected to land in Boston within a few weeks. His labours in Great Britain have been highly useful, and the friends of our cause in the United States will hail his return with peculiar satisfaction.

REV. SAMUEL LONGFELLOW, the *Times* informs us, preached on Sunday, the 3d instant, an eloquent sermon, in which the events of the previous week in Boston were appropriately and impressively alluded to. This was by no means the first time that he had lifted up his voice in favour of freedom. Would to God that all ministers were as faithful as we know him to be.

A MISTAKE.—It turns out that the woman who stated, at the Woman's Convention in Boston, that she was the sister of Col. Suttle, and made an apology for his conduct in seizing Burns, was either crazy or an impostor. Col. Suttle is not a native of New Hampshire, but of Virginia.

PROFESSOR STOWE, in a speech at the Congregational Collation in Faneuil Hall, on the 31st ult., gave the Fugitive Slave law a tremendous rap, declaring that the beard should never fall from his chin till that law was repealed. Great applause followed this sentiment.

AID FOR THE WIDOW.—The slaveholders in Norfolk, Alexandria and other places are raising contributions for the widow of James Batchelder, who lost his life in aiding the U. S. Marshal to kidnap Burns. He died as the fool dieth, having engaged in a mean and dishonourable business for pay.

COL. SUTTLE is a great lion among the slaveholders since his return from Boston. His experience in Massachusetts, it is said, has brought him to the conclusion that the South should withdraw from a Union in which negro-catching is attended with so many difficulties and dangers.

EDSON B. OLDS, of Ohio, now one of the most unscrupulous of the slaveocratic members of Congress, was once an out-spoken Abolitionist and a warm admirer of Theodore D. Weld, under whose influence he professed to have been converted to the cause. Political ambition has been his ruin.

THE *Rochester Democrat* learns that Gerrit Smith will very soon resign his seat in Congress on account of ill health. We hope this report may prove unfounded.

CONGRESS.—The House has agreed to adjourn on the 14th of August. It is probable that the Senate will concur.

THE ANNIVERSARY of the Western Anti-Slavery Society is to be held in Salem, Ohio, on the 26th, 27th and 28th of August.

POLITICS.

The Free Democrats of Indiana have declined to make any nominations for State offices, in the hope that there will be a union of all those who are opposed to the further extension of Slavery.

—Daniel S. Dickinson, the leader of the Hunker Democracy of New York in the struggle of 1848, is said by the *Cooperstown Journal* to be decidedly opposed to the Nebraska fraud. "Is Saul also among the prophets?"

—In Pennsylvania there is an earnest desire that the opponents of Slavery extension, without regard to former differences, should act together. If the efforts to bring about this result shall prove successful, the defeat of Bigler, the supple tool of the slavocrats, will be almost certain.

—There will probably be a union of all the opponents of Slavery extension in Michigan at the next election. K. S. Bingham, a Democratic Free Soiler, will probably be the candidate for Governor. He will stand a good chance of being elected. The Cass Democracy is thoroughly allied with Slavery and Rum, and we hope it may be utterly routed.

—It is probable that the anti-Benton Democrats will vote for Kennett, the Whig candidate for Congress in 'Old Bullion's' District, in order to defeat the latter, whom they 'hate with a perfect hatred.' It is a pity that the Whigs have not the magnanimity to vote for their ancient enemy, now that he is persecute for his independence.

—A call for an anti-Nebraska meeting at Laporte, Sullivan County, Pa., was warmly responded to, a few days since, by a numerous attendance, and without distinction of party, though a majority of the meeting was composed of those who have heretofore been accustomed to rally under the Democratic banner. The assemblage was ably addressed by Hon. David Wilmot, who denounced the conduct of the present Administration in emphatic terms. Strong resolutions were passed in reference to the Nebraska swindle, among which was one avowing a determination to support no man for office who approved the action of Congress in repealing the Missouri Compromise.

—The Legislature of New Hampshire met last week at Concord. The Administration Democrats elected their Speaker by a small majority, but the wire-workers of the party were afraid to proceed to the election of U. S. Senators lest they should be defeated by a coalition of Whigs, Free Soilers and Anti-Nebraska Democrats. The President is understood to have required of his friends the election of Hon. Harry Hibbard to one of the Senatorial seats, but it is hoped the State may be spared the disgrace that would attend the choice of such a doughface. If the Whigs and Free Soilers can unite on two anti-Nebraska Democrats, they may perhaps secure votes enough from the other party to elect them; but, knowing what we do of the power of an unscrupulous Executive, with the whole patronage of the Government in his hands, we shall not be surprised to hear, after the struggle is over, that New Hampshire is again sold to the Slave Power. The election will take place on the 16th inst.

—The political parties in New York are in such confusion that it is difficult to see how they will range in the next election. The President, by his efforts to conciliate the two factions of the Democracy, has incurred the hatred of both, his only hearty friends being those who are holding office under him. The Nebraska wickedness, now the only shibboleth of the Administration, is so unpopular that the leaders dare not support it. The Whigs are not so badly cut up, but the feud between the Silver Grays and Sewardites is not healed by any means, and, though they are all anti-Nebraska, there are obstacles to any agreement in respect to candidates. The Silver Grays, few in number, but powerful in wealth, would like to work their way back to the head of the party and take the lion's share of the offices; but the Sewardites are not willing to forgive their sins without farther evidence of repentance. Then the Temperance question is likely to make trouble between the various party factions. On the Democratic side, Judge Bronson and Mr. Seymour (present incumbent) are spoken of as candidates for Governor. Among the Whigs, some are in favour of running Seward; others talk of Horace Greeley, who would be strong with the Temperance and Anti-Slavery people. We shall be glad if all those who are ready to resist the encroachments of the Slave Power by such political action as the Constitution allows shall find themselves acting together without reference to former party distinctions.

—The Whigs of Vermont, at their recent State Convention, adopted no other than strong Anti-Slavery resolutions. The old party issues were forgotten. Their candidate for Governor is ex-Chief Justice Royce, a very popular man. For Lieutenant Governor they nominated Hon. Oscar L. Shafter, one of the leaders of the Free Soil party. They pledged themselves to go for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave bill, to resist the admission of Utah and New Mexico as States without Constitutions excluding Slavery, and to the defence of freedom, by the restriction of Slavery to the States in which it exists—by the exclusion of Slavery, at the earliest practicable moment and by all Constitutional means, from all Federal territory, Nebraska, Kansas, and the District of Columbia inclusive—by opposing the admission to the Union of any new State tolerating Slavery, whether it be formed from territory belonging to Texas or elsewhere—and by resisting the acquirement of any new territory wherein Slavery exists, unless its prohibition *forever* shall first have been provided for. They invite the co operation of all the freemen of Vermont who agree with them in these principles and purposes, most cordially offering their confidence to all who will rally under their standard. For some years past there has been an effort to unite the Free Soilers and the Democrats of Vermont, but it has never been quite successful, the machinery always working badly. The Whigs, debauched by the treachery of Webster, were defeated last year, but they have learned wisdom by experience and will no doubt carry the State by a large majority in September.

—The Liberty Party, of which Gerrit Smith is the recognised leader, held a State Convention at Canastota, Madison Co., on the 31st ult. The well-known doctrine of the party, viz., that Slavery, being immoral, is therefore unconstitutional, and that the General Government has the right to abolish it in every part of the country, was clearly and strongly set forth in an address and series of resolutions, which we find in the Peterboro' *Christian and Citizen*, and which we would publish if our columns were not more crowded at this time than usual.

One of the resolutions reads as follows:

"Resolved, That the time has come when the American government ought to be revolutionized, because it is a conspiracy against God and man, and there seems to us no hope of the liberation of the slave, except through the overthrow of the pro-slavery laws and their pro-slavery administrators, and as the last resort we will seek such overthrow by the same means, and with as untiring zeal as we would to rescue our families from a band of pirates and robbers."

Here revolution is spoken of as desirable and necessary; but, in the following passage from the address, the dissolution of the Union is objected to because it is a revolutionary measure, while the abolition of Slavery by the General Government, and according to the plan of the Liberty Party, is urged as the only means of *preventing* a revolution:

"The Constitution makes no provision for a dissolution of the Union, but it *does* provide for the abolition of Slavery. Dissolution would be revolutionary. Abolition would prevent revolution, *and nothing else can*, for the subjugation of the North by the Slave Power would assuredly produce revolution.

A bloody *revolution or peaceful abolition are the alternatives before us.* Let the people of the North be made to see this, and they will be prepared to decide."

If the Liberty Party believes that revolution by means such as are employed to rescue families from pirates and robbers—in other words, by war—is the only thing which promises the liberation of the slave, we can't understand why that party should object to the dissolution of the Union for the reason that it would be revolutionary. It ought, on its own showing, to be warmly in favour of that measure. But never mind. The party, whatever it said or intended to say on this head, is practically as revolutionary in its spirit as the American Anti Slavery Society, and both are working to the same end, though by somewhat different means.

COTTON AND SLAVERY—FLAX.

IT is almost universally admitted that the great support of Slavery now is cotton-growing. This was particularly elaborated and enforced in Webster's famous speech of the 7th of March, and was justly made prominent by Mr. Stowe in Europe. The great reason why cotton-growing sustains Slavery is, that cotton *generally* pays enormous profits, and furnishes labour for the *whole year*. It is only when there has been an *over-supply* of cotton, and when the price falls to 4 to 8 cents per pound, that it ceases to be an object to grow it. An average cotton crop in the United States is about 2,400,000 bales, and when it approaches to near 3,000,000 of bales the price falls.

Now, if say one-fourth of the cotton could be produced somewhere else, or a substitute of that amount be found in some other product of free labour, the price would fall to that point where its production would cease to be an object, and the cotton-growing States would be compelled to adopt some means to reduce the amount grown in order to make the business pay. To do this, the first step would be to pass rigid laws against the importation of slaves from other States, similar to that now in force in Kentucky. The occupation of the slave trade in the slaveholding States of Missouri, Kentucky, Virginia, Indiana and Delaware would be gone, and as no such animal would exhibit himself at the numerous Sheriffs' and Administrators' sales in those States, slave property would at once fall to a low point. The cotton planter, when cotton is low and likely to stay at a low point, by the competition alluded to, either from too much cotton being produced elsewhere or from some substitute being found to take the place of cotton to any considerable extent, will be compelled (instead of buying more slaves and enlarging his plantation as he now does when he is able) to reduce the amount of cotton grown, and turn his force to other crops, if not part with some of his slaves to his neighbours. The price of slave labour must then decline.

Now it has been found that flax can be made a substitute for not only slave-grown cotton, but for slave grown hemp. The experiment of Claussen in making poor cotton out of good flax failed, as was generally predicted, but *linen* can be made from the common unrotted flax of this country, such as is grown extensively for seed, the straw being thrown away, for about the cost of cotton goods of the same weight and fineness, when cotton is at the average price. This has been shown by the operations of the American Linen Company at Marcellus. I will give you a few facts and figures that will show that such a result may be reasonably expected, and the result is susceptible of proof to any jury of practical men.

From 8 to 10 tuns of straw, say 10 tuns, at $10 a tun, will make a ton of linen goods. That is 5 cents a lb. for the raw material—all the rest is labour except a few chemicals, which do not exceed one cent more. This will make the raw material for shirting, which weighs 4 to 5 yards to the pound, 1 1-2 cent per yard. One machine will break two tuns of flax straw a day. It then passes through other simple and cheap machines, which clean it sufficiently for rope purposes, in which state it costs less than 3 cents a pound, including so far the material and labour. It is then refined, losing half its weight in the gluten and other matter washed from the fibre, at an expense not exceeding 2 cents more. During all this there is no loss of fibre, as there is by the other known modes of making it. We have now the material at a cost of about 8 cents per lb. From this point the cost of manufacture does not much exceed that of cotton. The former expensive hackling is dispensed with by the use of a machine which takes out only the very shortest fibres and trash, which, when picked and carded, is flax-cotton suitable for combination with wool, in the place of cotton now used for that purpose, to an extent of rising 20,000 bales in this country, in almost all common woolen goods; or, the tow may be used as filling for the linen goods, as is generally done now by the other modes of making linen.

Then it is found that by using unrotted flax in this way, all the flax can be run to fine numbers, which is a point of immense importance. All modes of rotting flax heretofore used tend more or less to injure the fibre of flax, and not more than one lot of flax in ten can be spun fine, the flax being generally rotten as well as rotted. The draining frames for flax are somewhat more expensive than those used for cotton, but the spinning and weaving will be about the same. Then, as the fibre is purified and partially bleached before spinning, the bleaching of the goods is not more difficult or expensive than the bleaching of ordinary cotton goods. Sheetings 2 yards wide, which weigh about a pound to the yard, can be produced for less than 20 cents, while shirtings can be made from 12 to 15 cents. In all departments of linen manufacture a profit of fully 100 per cent. will be made until competition shall bring down prices, but this cannot be reasonably expected to occur for many years, nor until a large number of factories are erected and many fortunes made at the business. We have had no trouble in procuring any quantity of flax at Marcellus, and could as easily have obtained much more, could we have held out the only inducement required, the purchase of the straw. The seed pays well for the crop, about 15 bushels average per acre, and the straw, about one tun, is to the farmer clear gain. The pulling of flax will cease to be a drawback to this culture so soon as a machine is generally introduced which has been used advantageously in some localities, pulling and speading by the power of one horse six acres a day, while a man by hand can pull but about one-fourth of an acre. The machine is public property, the patent having expired, and can be made for about $60.

Flax will bear to be hauled 10 miles in the straw. Allowing one-twenty-fifth of the land to be in flax within ten miles of any factory, the quantity will be ample for over 5,000 spindles. Then the flax may be broken out at the West and sent to the New England in bales to be manufactured, as we see broken flax brought here to be used for upholstering purposes. Taking the amount of arable cultivated land in the Northern States, as shown by the last census, it would appear that one-twenty fifth of the same, being in flax, would supply about half as much pure fibre, refined, as the whole cotton crop of the United States; and, if we add the Northern Slave States, not cotton growing, the amount will exceed the whole cotton crop. This is a sufficient reply to a common remark that there *cannot be* flax enough produced to have any sensible effect upon cotton.

This new mode of working flax must soon find its way to Europe, where it will reduce the first cost of linens, though not to so great an extent as *here*, and must greatly increase the amount of linens produced, and proportionately reduce the demand for cotton. The cotton mills will be there, as well as here, rapidly converted into flax mills, and cotton will take the old place it had before the time of Arkwright.

The South cannot be injured, as is generally supposed, by the change, but changing their crops by which slave labour will not be so much needed, and all rich and poor can carry on farming, without the large capital now required, as in the Northern States. The tendency will be towards republicanism and against aristocracy. They may grow and manufacture flax there if they like without slave labour, and make as much money as they do now. Flax, unlike cotton, is not confined to a narrow range of latitude, but flourishes in all climates from Egypt to Archangel.

The friends of freedom and humanity should certainly investigate this matter, and, if they find it to promise well, should take measures to bring it to the attention of capitalists. S.

SUMMARY.

The *Springfield Republican* (Mass.) has been "taking the sense of the community," with this result:

"There are two parties in this town on the Nebraska question. They are composed of the Postmaster on one side, and everybody else on the other."

REWARDED ALREADY.—A brother-in-law of Senator Badger has just been appointed to a lucrative office in California, and a son of Olds, of Ohio, the charman in the committee, who made such monstrous decisions of order, has also been rewarded with an office.—*Boston Atlas.*

A fugitive slave in the employ of Clark & Pond, millers at Fulton, N. Y., sent a barrel of specimen flour to Queen Victoria. A few days since he received an autograph letter from the Queen, acknowledging the receipt of the flour, and enclosing $300 in return.

If a man from Massachusetts to do dirty work in a slaveholder's family is what Col. Suttle wants, we advise him (says the Springfield *Republican*) to give up Burns, and take Hallett. We'll engage nobody will get up a riot to rescue *him*.

A SUM IN THE RULE OF THREE.—The following question, it is said, has been proposed by the President to his Cabinet:

"If it requires all the military and naval force of the United States to take one negro out of Boston, how large an increase of force will be needed to take Cuba from Spain?"

SHOE-MAKING IN VIRGINIA.—The Richmond *Enquirer* recommends to the southern people to manufacture their own shoes. Not only should they do that, but, if we are obliged to run down their fugitives, they ought to make ours also. They are said to excel the northern shoe-makers in cutting hides.—*Eve. Post.*

TROUBLES OF SLAVERY.—A Mr Edmondson, in McCraken county, Ky., last week, on sitting down to breakfast, discovered the biscuit on the table of an unusual colour. He called his cook, and required her to eat one of them, which she did very reluctantly, and died in fifteen minutes afterward from the effects of the poison she intended for her master and mistress.

ESCAPED.—Matt. Ward's laundress, a young negro girl of nineteen, passed through Detroit on the underground railroad, on the 26th, and landed safely in Canada. She learned that the family were going South, and concluded they could dispense with her services. The *Detroit Democrat* informs her former proprietors that she has obtained a good situation, at fair wages, in a private family.—*Phil. Register.*

The Underground Railroad, says the Syracuse *Journal*, is doing a fine business since the passage of the Nebraska bill. Three fugitives arrived at the depot in this city on Tuesday, and were passed on to Queen Victoria's dominions. Ten arrived last week. The records show that one hundred have escaped over this branch of the road, from this land of "equal rights" and Democracy, since the 1st of January last.

AFFLICTIVE DISPENSATION.—We regret to learn that the Shakers at Enfield, Ct., have lately been called to deplore an afflictive dispensation, which has deprived them of two of their most effective members. A few mornings since, the two members in question were suddenly missing, and after a long and anxious search it was found that they had "gone and got married." Both parties have our liveliest sympathy.—*Springfield (Mass.) Repub.*

NEW HAMPSHIRE—*Governor's Message.*—We have received the Message of the new Governor of New Hampshire. He treats of various topics, but we cannot find that he says anything in reference to Nebraska. We have looked carefully under the only two heads of the Message where the subject would be likely to be treated, namely, the National Administration, and the State Prison, and we find no allusion to it. The Governor evidently fights shy of that question.—*Tribune.*

MUNIFICENCE OF A SINGLE LADY.—Miss Caroline Plummer died, at Salem, on the 15th ult., at the age of 74 years. She was a lady of fine talents and acquirements, numbering among her friends many of the most distinguished of her fellow-citizens. By a course of rigid economy and self-denial she had accumulated a fortune of $100,000. By her will she bequeathed more to public uses than has ever been left by any resident in Salem, viz.: the sum of $15,000 to Harvard College, to found a "Professorship of the Heart," i. e. for Moral Philosophy; the sum of $30,000 to the Salem Athenæum, and (after other private bequests) the residue of her estate, which will be about $30,000, to found a Farm School at Salem.

A member of Congress from this State, who voted for the Nebraska Swindle, visited his constituents last week. In passing through the streets of the town where he resides, he encountered a wagon on the side-walk. Somewhat disturbed by this obstruction, he requested the driver to get out of the way so that he could pass. The reply was: "There is room enough for you; or, if there is not, you can go round by the way of Nebraska!" Here the conversation dropped.—*Albany Eve. Jour.*

Father Mathew has had another shock of the palsy. The physicians have advised him to try the air of Madeira. He does not avail himself of the advice for one reason only—he is poor. He did have a pension of £300. But to secure a debt contracted, not for himself, but for the Temperance cause, which has been so dear to him, it was all paid to obtain a life insurance policy. A Limerick paper is the authority for this statement, which will make many friends sad.

ATTEMPT AT KIDNAPPING.—A Kentuckian at Columbus, in this State, on Tuesday last, endeavored to entice a little negro to go home with him, and both were waiting to go off on the cars, when some one, suspecting mischief, raised the report of an attempt to kidnap the boy, when a crowd proceeded to the depot and made the kidnapper release his intended victim; they afterwars raised funds and sent him to this place, where, he said, he had friends.—*Indiana Free Democrat.*

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.—The Cincinnati *Enquirer* says that some Kentucky "gentlemen" lately applied to Commissioner Wilcox for a warrant to arrest a fugitive. He sent them to an attorney to get an affidavit drawn up, and when they returned, they found that the official had left town on a fast horse. Thereupon the Kentuckians left for home in disgust.

If Southerners don't know that the business of slave-catching is unpopular in the North, we hope they *will* know it before long.—*Phil. Register.*

UNEXPECTED PARDON.—Three negroes were to have been hung in Northumberland, Va., on the 2d instant, for an attempt to poison their master, Capt. Haney. They were in the act of being executed, with the graves dug, shrouds prepared, &c., when the messenger arrived with the pardon from Gov. Johnson. He had been delayed by high water and other obstacles, and on the morning of the intended execution day was twenty-five miles from the place where the gallows was erected. He arrived just an hour and a half before the ropes were to be adjusted.

Hamilton Willis, Esq., a gentleman of irreproachable character, publishes a letter in the Boston *Atlas*, distinctly charging Benj. F. Hallett, the U. S. District Attorney, with having offensively and obtrusively interfered to prevent the consummation of the bargain with Suttle for the purchase of the fugitive Burns. The conversation is given with emphatic minuteness, and will probably not be denied. Those who know Hallett will not doubt the charge, while those who do not may be surprised that a person so fiendishly constituted should be allowed to hold intercourse with respectable men.

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH SOUTH.—One of the most important actions, as yet, of the conference of this body, which is now being held in Charleston, has been that having reference to the alteration of the "discipline" in relation to the subject of Slavery. The Charleston *Courier* says that the ninth section of the "discipline" was expunged, as well as all other parts which condemned the institution of Slavery. The general rule forbidding "the purchase of men, women and children, with the intention to enslave them," and which has reference to the African slave trade, was retained, though the vote upon the expurgation even of this rule was 47 to 54. On the afternoon of the 22d day, the new Bishops were ordained. Bishops Andrews, Capers, Soule and Paine took part in the solemn service.

"AN ABOLITIONIST.—The last Lynchburg *Virginian* states that a young man from one of the Northern States, named Richard Norris, an employé on the Virginia and Tennessee railroad, was, on Tuesday, brought before the Mayor of Lynchburg, on a charge of having publicly uttered sentiments of an Abolition and incendiary character in one of the hotels of that city. After a full hearing of the case, the prisoner was recognised in the sum of $200 to appear for further trial at the next term of the circuit court."

Norris must be sent up. A man honest enough to speak his mind in Virginia must have some gross defect in his character, or he would turn his back upon a State which arrests men for speaking their minds, and imprisons women for teaching little "niggers" to read the Bible. A State with such laws upon its statute-book, and with creatures within its borders mean enough to enforce them, should be left in the exclusive possession of men whose profession is "nigger-raising" and "slave-driving."—*Albany Eve. Jour.*

TERRIBLE REVENGE.—The Richmond *Enquirer*, in its correspondence and editorial, recommends that Southern people, by way of revenge for the enormities committed on the South, "refuse to subscribe to any journal in a free State."

This may be just, but it is hard. All we ask, however, is, that our Southern friends do not carry the thing any further, and go to bed without their suppers.

We suppose they take the Northern papers entirely for our benefit, not for their own. This is kind of them; we endeavour to feel duly grateful. It is fortunate for us, perhaps, in this instance, that so large a proportion even of the free whites in the Southern States are unable to read. Otherwise, the falling off in their "patronage" might affect us yet more disastrously.—*Eve. Post.*

A SLAVER.—We learn from the Captain of the schooner Energy, which arrived at this port on Sunday from Edgartown, that he saw a suspicious looking craft in Vineyard Sound, about dark, on Saturday. Her deck was crowded with men and she gave every evidence of being engaged in the despicable business of man-stealing. As she passed, our friend at once recognized her as the United States Slaver Morris, that has recently been placed in the international slave trade by this *Republican* Government. Captain Gardner would have given chase, as every honest sailor feels himself under the deepest obligations to clear the seas of these marauders and prevent as far as possible the horrors of the "middle passage," but night set in and the slaver was soon lost in the dim and shadowy distance, beyond the possibility of successful pursuit.—*New Bedford Standard.*

APPOINTMENTS AND DISAPPOINTMENTS IN PROSPECT.—John Wentworth writes to his paper, the Chicago *Democrat*, in reference to the passage of the Nebraska bill and the offices pre-engaged:

"When the final result was announced, there was great clapping of hands among the candidates. There cannot be less than one thousand men in our city here now wanting office in Nebraska. They shouted right out when the bill passed. But the mass of them will soon learn that it is one thing to get the bill passed, quite another for them to get office under it. If any man at home has been a Nebraska man for office, he has fooled away his time, as there will not be offices enough here to fulfil positive pledges made here in order to get the bill through Congress."

He has the following on another topic:

"The bitterest man for the bill in all the free States, was a delegate to the Buffalo Convention, and a warm supporter of Van Buren and Adams in 1848."

PASSENGERS ON THE UNDERGROUNE RAILROAD.—While the public are watching the vast tide of travel that sets backward on all of our Western Railroads, and speculators in stocks calculate the extent of monthly receipts and dividends, very little appears to be known of the business of the great Underground Railroad. Its trains run through our streets regularly, but, notwithstanding its passenger business has increased at a rate equal to that of any other "upper ground" road, we hear of no speculation in its stock, or even an opinion as to its dividends. We can assure its friends and the public, that its business, above all expectation, is still increasing at a most astonishing rate. There has been a great demand upon the stockholders for instalments to increase the running machinery of the road, and we learn that there has been no failure on the part of any of them. A large corps of trusty conductors have been secured, the stations well fitted up, and the officers and passengers on the road furnished with "irons" to be used against all who may have the audacity to interfere with trains or passengers. We understand that the advantages of the Road, to passengers, have been greatly increased by the notorious Nebraska Bill, the offspring of Judge Douglas.—*Chicago Tribune*, 10th.

MARRIED.

BARNARD—PENNOCK.—On the 30th ultimo, by the Order of Progressive Friends, at the house of Moses Pennock, Vincent Barnard to Joanna Pennock, all of Kennett Square, Chester Co., Pa.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS, &c., from May 1 to June 1.

FOR STANDARD.

750	Sarah Hallock, Milton, New York,	2 00
771	Joseph Arnold, Olneyville, R. I.,	4 00
758	Sidney Smith, Borodino, N. Y.,	2 00
762	Miriam R. Johnson, Lynn, Mass.,	2 00
728	R. Holland, N. Y. City,	2 00
778	C. G. Doty, Wolcotts Mills, Indiana,	2 00
778	James W. Keith, Lima, "	2 00
778	U. Robinson, Lexington "	2 00
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775	Calvin Brainard, North Chili, N. Y.,	2 00
763	Wm. R. Bliss, Boston, Mass.,	4 00
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780	Johnson Davee, Plymouth, Mass.,	2 00
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567	S. C. Barton, Claverick, "	2 00
		$99 92

Donations.

Wm. H. Burr, New York City,	3 00
Wm. R. Bliss, Boston, Mass.,

MR. PARKER'S DISCOURSE.

[Continued from Second Page.]

showing how they acquired the power, and how they administer it.

In the history of mankind, this is the first attempt to found a State on the natural rights of man. It is not to be supposed that there should be national unity of action on so high a platform as that which the genius of Adams and Jefferson presented for the people then militant against oppression. There is a contradiction in the consciousness of the nation. In our industrial civilization, under the stimulus of love of wealth, and its consequent social and political power, we have made such a rapid advance in population and riches as no nation ever made. The lower powers of the understanding have also had a great development. We can plan, organise, and administer material means for material ends, as no nation has ever done. But it is not to be supposed that any people could pass all at once from the military civilization, with its four-fold despotism, to the industrial civilization and democracy in its Church, State, Community and Family. How slowly we learn; with what mistakes do we come to the true Idea, and how painfully enact it into a deed! But see what results have come to pass.

In 1776, there were about 784,093 miles of territory; now there are 3,347,451. Then there were about two and a half millions of people; now there are four and twenty. In 1790, the annual revenue of America was less than four millions of dollars. Last year it was more than sixty-one. Then we had less than 698,000 Slaves; now we have more than 3,204,000. In 1776, Slavery was exceptional; the nation was ashamed of it. In 1774, Mr. Jefferson had more democratic and Christian ideas than all Virginia has now. He said, "The Abolition of domestic Slavery is the greatest desire of the American people." In the first draft of the Declaration of Independence, he condemned England for fastening Slavery upon us, forbidding us to abolish the slave trade. He trembled when he remembered that "God is just." The leading men of the nation disliked Slavery on principle. Some excused themselves for it—"England forced it on us"; some thought it "expedient as a measure"; all thought it wrong as a principle.

During the Revolution, the white Slaves who had been soldiers, became free; there has not been any white Slavery—of the old kind—since '76. I know some families in this city whose parents came to America as Slaves—white Slaves, I mean. They were bought in England; they were sold in America—sold under cruel laws. I should not like to mention their names; but in 1850, they were the most desperate Hunkers that could be found. Born of Slaves, the iron had entered their contaminated souls, and they sought to enslave your brethren and my parishioners. These were the children of white slaves. The Indians were set free by laws. In most of the States attempts were made to free the blacks. All the New England States set them free; partly by the programme of principles in their Constitutions; partly by the decisions of Courts; partly by statute law, enacted by the Legislature. New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, soon followed. In twelve years after the Declaration of Independence, seven of the thirteen States had begun efforts to abolish Slavery forever. The truths of the Declaration carried forward New England and other Northern States; nay, the momentum of the Revolution carried the whole of Congress forward, and ere long, America performed two great acts, restricting Despotocracy—establishing Freedom and not Bondage. Here they are.

I. In 1787, the General Government had jurisdiction over the North Western territory, and decreed that therein Slavery should never exist, to all time, save as a punishment for crime "duly convicted." On that spot, there have since grown up five great States; Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Five great States, with four and a half millions of men, and not a Slave. Near a million children went to the Schools of those States last year, and there is not a Slave. Out of 239,345 square miles, there is not an inch of Slave soil, except what stands in the shoes of Senator Douglas and his coadjutors. That is the first thing.

II. In 1808, America abolished the slave trade. Before that it was carried on from the harbours of New England; Boston, Bristol, Newport, New York, added to their wealth by enslaving men. These were the great ports whence men cleared for Africa, to take in a cargo of slaves. It is still carried on from New York and Boston—but secretly; then it was openly done. Some of you, whose hoary heads dignify and give a benediction to this audience, may perhaps remember the Great Rhode Island Slave-trader, who occasionally visited this city, and if your eyes ever saw him, I know that your hearts—then hot with youth—recoiled with indignation at such a sight—a stealer of men! He seemed to be born for a Slave-trader; he had a kidnapper's name on him at his birth. He was called *Wolf!*

These are the two acts of the Federal Government against Slavery since the Declaration of Independence. That is all that America has done against Slavery, in eight and seventy years. She has multiplied her population ten fold, her revenue fifteen fold, and has abolished the Slave-trade, and prohibited Slavery in the North Western territory. Now see what has been done in favour of Slavery.

I. This is the first step: in 1787, America inaugurated Slavery into the Constitution.

1. She left it in the Slave States, as part of the "Republican" Institutions.

2. Next, she provided that the owners of Slaves should have their property represented in Congress, five Slaves counting the same as three Freemen; and, at this day, in consequence of this Iniquitous Act, for the 3,204,000 Slaves which she has stolen and unjustly holds, the South has delegates in Congress equal to the representation of almost two millions of Freemen in New England.

3. It was agreed, also, that Slaves escaping from the service of their masters into a Free State, should not thereby recover their freedom, but should be "delivered up."

Here were three concessions made to Slavery at first. They were at variance with the programme of principles in the Declaration; the programme of purposes in the Constitution's Preamble. They were known to be at variance with the religion of Jesus in the New Testament; at variance with the laws of Nature and of God. The Convention was ashamed of the whole thing, and added hypocrisy to its crime: it did not dare mention the word Slave. That was the first great step against Freedom. It has cost us millions of people. We should have had a population counting millions more. It has cost us hundreds of millions of money. The Whig is poorer, the Democrat has a smaller majority. Aye, it has cost us what is worth more than both money and human life—it has cost manhood; it has caused us crime, falseness to our nature and our God. Just now the "Christian Republic" commits a greater offence against the fundamental principles of all morality, all religion, than the Russian or the Turk, or any Pagan despotism in the wide World!

How came it? The North wanted a special privilege of Navigation; and it let Slavery into the Constitution for that pitiful price. Mr. Gorham, a representative from Massachusetts, a Boston man, in the Convention, declared that Massachusetts wanted Union, not to defend herself, she could do so, and had done so, and had defended others along with her; but she wanted a special privilege to trade. I am ashamed to confess it, that was the Massachusetts which had just come out of the Revolutionary war. Here was a "compromise" between the covetousness of the North, wanting a special privilege of navigation, and the idleness of the South, wishing to eat but not to earn. Between these two millstones the African man was crushed into a Slave—a mere chattel "to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever." That was the first step.

II. In 1792, America admitted Kentucky as a new State, made out of old soil, and established Slavery therein. That was the first act of Congress establishing new Slavery so far as she had power. Since then, America has thrice repeated the experiment; in 1796, establishing Slavery in Tennessee; in 1817, in Mississippi; and in 1819, in Alabama—three new States made afresh out of old Slave soil. That was the second step.

III. In 1793, America adopted Slavery as a Federal Institution; undertook herself, the Federal government, to seize and deliver up the Fugitive Slave. She took no such charge of other fugitive "property." She was not Field-driver for horses and mules, only the Hog-reeve for fugitive men, "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights," "to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." That was the third step; and the great "Expounder of the Constitution" declared it was "wholly unconstitutional"; every free man, who thinks with a free mind, I am confident will say the same.

IV. In 1803, Louisiana was purchased from France and organized into a territory, with Slavery in it. This was the first attempt of America to carry the hateful institution upon new soil, acquired since the Declaration of Independence. In 1812, Louisiana was admitted as a State with Slavery in it; the first Slave State made out of new soil, acquired after the Declaration. Hitherto Slavery has been confined to the Atlantic slope of the continent; in 1792, the Federal government established it in the valley of the Mississippi; in 1803, for the first time, she carried it West of the great river. That was the fourth step.

V. In 1819-20, Missouri was organized as a State; in 1821, admitted with Slavery in it. Before this time, Slavery had receded from the North. On the Atlantic, it did not reach up to the fortieth parallel of latitude; on the Mississippi, it sunk below the thirty-seventh. But by admitting Missouri, it all at once rose to the fortieth parallel of latitude. Here, however, there was a great battle. The South wanted Slavery to extend all the way from the Gulf of Mexico to the British line. The North wanted to restrict Slavery by the Mississippi river, and not carry it West. A few Northern men were bought up; nothing is more marketable than Northern politicians, Whig or Democrat, it makes no odds, both are lieges of the Almighty Dollar. Wickedness prevailed; Missouri came in with her Slaves. However, there was a "Compromise;" the celebrated Missouri Compromise, by which Slavery was restricted in the Louisiana territory North of 36 deg. 30 min. Then, all the territory South thereof was made over to that institution. In 1836, Arkansas was organized as a territory, and came in as a State with Slavery. In the territory of Louisiana, bought in 1803, there are now 423,172 Slaves. That was the fifth step.

VI. In 1845, Florida was admitted as a Slave State, with a Constitution providing that the "General Assembly shall have no power to pass laws emancipating Slaves," or to forbid emigrants to bring their Slaves with them. Here, Slavery was extended over territory acquired for that purpose from Spain in 1819-21; made perpetual therein. It went down to the Gulf of Mexico, reaching far in. That was the sixth step.

VII. In 1845, Texas was "re-annexed" and admitted as a State. This was territory whence the Mexicans had banished Slavery. Slavery was in the Constitution of Texas; was carried West of the territory purchased of France, and spread over 325,520 square miles. It was established in a territory forty-three times greater than Massachusetts, by and by to be carved into more Slave States. This was the first time that America had ever established Slavery in a land whence any government had positively driven it out. That was the seventh step.

VIII. In 1848, at the conclusion of the war for plundering Mexico, by conquest and treaty, we acquired California, Utah, and New Mexico—a territory of more than 596,000 square miles. This was coveted as new ground for the extension of Slavery. The Mexican war was begun and continued for Slavery; the land was to be Slave soil. This was the first time we had conquered new land in battle for the sake of putting Slavery on it. That was the eighth step.

IX. In 1850, you remember the cry, "The Union is in danger!" How lustily men roared: "The Union is in danger!" How the politicians talked, and the ministers! The "pedlars of oratory" took the stump. You remember the "Boston eloquence" that screamed, and tottered and stood a tip-toe, and spread its fingers, and tore its hair, and invaded the very heavens with its scary speech—"The Union is in danger—this hour!" The celebrated Compromise measures were passed. So far as it concerns this question, they consisted of the Fugitive Slave Bill—of which I do not think you wish *me*, at least, to speak again; of the establishment of a territorial government in New Mexico and Utah, extending Slavery over 407,667 square miles—a territory larger than fifty-three States of the size of Massachusetts; it paid Texas ten millions of money as a gift to Slavery.

That was the greatest step of all since Slavery was inaugurated in the Constitution. It was the most insulting to the North; it was most revolting to our political ideas and the principles of our professed religion. You remember the stir, and tumult, and storm. You have not forgotten the promise that "agitation was to cease." In 1852, the Whigs decided to "discountenance" agitation; and the Democrats, being stronger and more audacious, declared that they would resist all attempts to renew the agitation on the question of Slavery, in Congress or out, in whatsoever shape. That was the ninth great step.

In 1776, African Slavery existed in all the thirteen States. In a few years it shrunk Southward. In 1790, the end of Delaware in 40 deg. was its Northern Atlantic limit; on the Mississippi, it fell away to less than 37 deg. Below the snaky line which separates Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, on the South, from New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, on the North, East of the "Father of Waters," on the Atlantic slope of the continent—the monster had scope and verge enough. North and West of these limits he dared not show his head. But in that year, America bought of Maryland and Virginia a field "ten miles square," as Capital of the United States; in 1800, the seat of government was transferred from Philadelphia to the District of Columbia; in 1802, Congress re-enacted the Slave codes of Virginia and Maryland, extending them over the Capital of the nation. Behold the Federal government of the sole Christian Republic of the world has its head quarters on Slave soil! Congress had gone South—ominous change! Since that day, no State has abolished Slavery. It still exists in the six old States: Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. It has spread into Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, four new States, in twenty years made out of the territory of the old States. It has been put anew into Louisiana, Missouri, Arkansas, Florida, Texas—five new States made out of territory acquired for extending the area of Slavery. It has been carried to Utah and New Mexico—land plundered from Mexico for this purpose. The white polygamy of Joe Smith, and the Black polygamy of men yet more shameless, there flourish side by side. It has spread over 1,051,523 square miles, where there was no legal Slavery at all in 1788. It has blotted the Mississippi Valley with more than 1,580,000 Slaves. It has put Slavery in a population of 3,250,303 white persons, which else would never have had an entailment of this curse upon their property, their education, and their morality, and their religion!

Why was all this? Has the South the most money, and so can buy up the North? the most votes, and so can scare us by overwhelming numbers? Not at all; the South is poor in money; in numbers she is weak. The North is strong in both. The South wanted Slavery, the North did not want Freedom for the African. Before 1808, Northern clergymen occasionally ventured their little savings in the Slave trade: since 1808, they obey with alacrity all attempts of the Slave power to blaspheme the higher law of God! At each step, the South becomes more imperious, more insulting. She has served us right! Nine times she has demanded a sacrifice—nine times the North has granted the demand. In some twenty-four millions of men, every seventh man is a Slave; the children of Jefferson and Madison are sold at public vendue. Senator Foote roared in the Capitol; his father's sons were Slaves in the same street! It is "a great country"; a "Union" worth saving!

But who is to blame for all this? The North has had the majority of the Federal councils from the beginning. It is the North who is to blame for these nine steps—for establishing, spreading, fostering, and perpetuating the worst institution wherewith the Spaniard has dared to blot the Western continent. Who put Slavery in the Constitution; made it Federal? who put it in the new States? who got new soil to plant it in? who carried it across the Mississippi—into Louisiana, Florida, Texas, Utah, New Mexico? who established it in the Capital of the United States? who adopted Slavery and volunteered to catch a runaway, in 1793, and repeated the act in 1850—in defiance of all law, all precedent, all right? Why, it was the North. "Spain armed herself with bloodhounds," said Mr. Pitt, "to extirpate the wretched natives of America." In 1850, the Christian Democracy set worse bloodhounds a-foot to pursue Ellen Craft; offered them five dollars for the run, if they did not take her; ten if they did! The price of blood was Northern money; the bloodhounds—they were Kidnappers born at the North, bred there, kennelled in her church, fed on her sacraments, blessed by her priests! In 1778, Mr. Pitt had a yet harsher name for the beasts wherewith despotic Spain hunted the red-man in the woods—he called them "*Hell Hounds.*" But they only hunted "savages, heathens, men born in barbarous lands." What would he say of the pack which in 1851 hunted American Christians, in the "Athens of America," and stole a man on the grave of Hancock and Adams—all Boston looking on, and its priests blessing the deed!

The Slave power is now ready to take the tenth step. It wants these things: the acquisition of Cuba, the Mesilla Valley, the Africanization of Nebraska. Of the first and second, I shall not say anything. The third is a most important matter. It is an attempt to establish Slavery in a new country. First, in a country where it never existed to any extent. There is only one American in the territory known to have ever held a Slave. That is a missionary who went thither from Boston, and, for a thousand dollars, bought a man in Missouri, to serve as help for his sick wife—the only Slave ever held by an American in Nebraska, so far as Senator Douglas is informed; and of all men the most, he ought to know.

Next, it is an attempt by the Federal government to establish it in a territory where it has been prohibited by the Federal government itself, by the solemn enactment of Congress, made thirty-three years ago, at a time when all the North swore solemnly that it would not suffer Slavery to come North another inch.

Do you know what is the population of Nebraska? There are not one thousand Americans in it. There is a delegate from Nebraska at Washington. He had *seventy* votes, out of this vast territory! There were two competitors, and I suppose there could not have been more than two hundred votes cast; I doubt if there were one hundred.

It is an immense territory, 485,000 square miles; larger than sixty-two States of the size of Massachusetts. It contains as much land as all the Thirteen States that fought the Revolution, and more than 121,000 square miles besides. Draw a line from Trieste to Amsterdam. Nebraska is larger than the part of Western Europe thus cut off. It contains more than all the Fourteen Free States East of the Mississippi—Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin—and 83,393 square miles over and above. It reaches from the Western boundary of Missouri to the Rocky Mountains. It extends from 37 deg. North latitude to 49 deg.—twelve degrees of latitude; and from 94 deg. longitude to 114 deg.—twenty degrees of longitude. Its waters run to the Gulf of Mexico, to the Pacific Ocean, and to Hudson's Bay. The blood of the Slave will reach "Greenland's icy mountains," and stain the waters at the mouth of Baffin's Bay; the Saskatchawan, its great Northern river, will drain the Slave soil into Lake Winnepeg, and the keel of Captain Kane's ship, returning from his adventurous quest in the Arctic Sea, will pass through waters that are darkened by the last great crime of America!

The Slave power has long been seeking to extend its jurisdiction. It has eminently succeeded. It fills all the chief offices of the nation; the Presidents are Slave Presidents; the Supreme Court is of Slave Judges, every one; the district Judges—you all know Judge Sprague, Judge Grier, Judge Kane. In all that depends on the political action of America, the Slave power carries the day. In what depends on industry, population, education, it is the North. The Slave power seeks to extend its institutions at the expense of humanity. The North works with it. In this century, the South has been foiled in only two efforts: to extend Slavery to California and Oregon: nine times it has succeeded.

Now see why the South wishes to establish Slavery in Nebraska.

1. She wishes to gain a direct power in Congress. So she wants new Slave States, that she may have new Slave Senators to give her the uttermost power in the Senate of the United States.

2. Next, she wishes indirectly to gain power by directly checking the rapid growth of the free States of the North. If Nebraska is free, the tide of immigration will set thither, as once to Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, as now to Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota. There will be a rapid increase of free men, with their consequent wealth, education, ideas, democratic institutions, free States, with consequent political power.

All this the South wishes to avoid; for the South—I must say it—is the enemy of the North. She is the foe to Northern Industry—to our mines, our manufactures, and our commerce. Thrice, in my day, has she sought to ruin all three. She is the foe to our institutions—to our Democratic politics in the State, our Democratic culture in the school, our Democratic work in the community, our Democratic equality in the family, and our Democratic religion in the Church. Hear what a great Slave organ says of religion: "The Bible has been vouchsafed to mankind for the purpose of keeping us out of hell-fire and getting us into Heaven by the mysteries of faith and the inner life—not to teach us ethnology, government," &c. It is the Editor of the Richmond *Examiner* who says that; the American Chargé at Turin.

I say the South is the enemy of the North. England is the *rival* of the North, a powerful rival, often dangerous; sometimes a mean and dishonourable rival. But the South is our *foe*—far more dangerous, meaner, and more dishonourable. England keeps treaties; the South breaks faith. She broke faith individually, and Webster lies there a wreck on the shore of his own estate; breaks it nationally, "and renews the agitation!" I always knew she would; I never trusted her lying breath; I warned my brothers and sisters against it: now she fulfils the expectation. She is the enemy of our material welfare and our spiritual development. Her success is our ruin. Our welfare shames her institutions, her ideas, and is the destruction to her "peculiar institution." She has been beaten in her effort to blot the Territory of Oregon with Slavery; but she never surrenders. This I honour in the South—she is always true to her own institution, and her own idea. I honour the man who, on Plymouth Rock, when the sons of the Puritans crouched and shrunk down, and scarce one brave word could get spoken for humanity and the great rights of man which our fathers brought across the sea—I honour the Southern man who stood up and claimed that Slavery should be protected, on Plymouth Rock, and told one Northern candidate for the Presidency that he also had once offered and volunteered to shoulder his musket, "the old Middlesex musket," and march South to put down an insurrection of slaves. I say, I honour a man's fidelity to his own principle, even if it is a base one.

Such are the two general reasons why the South wishes Slavery in this new territory. But here is a third reason quite special.

3. There must be communication with the West. Three railroads are possible; one lies through Mexican territory, but we have not got it, for the Gadsden treaty is not yet a fact accomplished: two others lie through Nebraska territory. One or the other of them must be built. If Nebraska is free soil, the Slave master cannot take his Slaves across, for the law of the free soil makes the black man free. But if Nebraska is a Slave State, then the master can go there and carry his "chattels personal" through—coffles of men, droves of women, herds of children, attended by the "missionary from Boston," and the bloodhounds of the kidnapper. She wants right of way for her institution; a Slave railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific. Such are the reasons why she wants to establish Slavery there.

See what encourages the South to make new encroachments. She has been eminently successful in her former demands, especially with the last. The authors of the Fugitive Slave Bill did not think that enormity could be got through Congress: it was too atrocious in itself, too insulting to the North. But Northern men sprang forward to defend it—powerful politicians supported it to the fullest extent. The worse it was, the better they liked it. Northern merchants were in favour of it—it "would conciliate the South." Northern ministers in all the churches of commerce baptised it, defended it out of the Old Testament, or the New Testament. The Senator of Boston gave it his mighty aid—he went through the land a huckster of Slavery, peddling Atheism: the Representative of Boston gave it his vote. Their constituents sustained both! All the great cities of the North executed the bill. The leading Journals of Boston advised the merchants to withhold all commercial intercourse from Towns which opposed Kidnapping. There was a "Union Meeting" at Faneuil Hall. You remember the men on the platform; the speeches are not forgotten. The doctrine that there is a law of God above the passions of the multitude and the ambition of their leaders, was treated with scorn and hooting; a loud guffaw of vulgar ribaldry went up against the Justice of the Infinite God! All the great cities did the same. Atheism was inaugurated as the first principle of Republican Government; in politics, religion makes men mad! Mr. Clay declared that "no Northern gentleman will ever help return a Fugitive Slave!" What took place at Philadelphia? New York? Cincinnati?—nay, at Boston? The Northern churches of commerce thought Slavery was a blessing, Kidnapping a "grace." The Democrats and Whigs vie with each other in devotion to the Fugitive Slave Bill. The "Compromises" are the golden rule. The North conquered her prejudices. The South sees this, and makes another demand. Why not? I am glad of it. She serves us right.

There is one thing more which helps her. The South, weak in numbers, weak in money, has yet a certain unity of idea—that of Slavery. She has the political skill to control the money and the numbers of the North. She always makes the Presidents. As the Catholic priest takes a bit of baker's bread, and says, "Bread, thou art, become a God!" and the dough is God—so the South takes any man and transubstantiates him—"Thou art a man! become a President!" And by political transubstantiation Polk and Pierce are Presidents, to be "lifted up," to be "exhibited," set on high, and worshiped accordingly. Now the Northern lump covets exceedingly this presidential transubstantiation; but to attain thereunto it must be of the right leaven for the South. A new President is presently to be kneaded together, to be baked to the requisite hardness, transubstantiated, and then set up in 1856. Several old *Ephraims*, alas! cakes "not turned," begin to swell, and bubble, and crack, and break, hoping presently to be in condition to be transubstantiated. Some Northern dough is leavening itself to suit the Southern taste. Alas! "It is not in man that walketh to direct his steps." Many are leavened, but few *rise*. A Northern man, a bold adventurer, a barroom Politician of Illinois, born in Vermont, they say, has long coveted Presidential transubstantiation. He has tempered his measure of meal with Southern leaven: he is a Slaveholder—not born so; he courted Slavery and "married on"; he has stirred into his character a great amount of appropriate leaven—the "emptyings" of Southern firkins, the leavings of Southern feasts, the yeasty scum and froth of the Southern consciousness where Slavery heats and swelters and keeps up a perpetual fermentation. In 1852, all his leaven was of no avail; even the heat of the Baltimore Convention could not make him rise to the requisite degree. Now he adds more potent leaven, and drugs his Northern dough, hoping the lump will rise a Presidential loaf!

Mr. Douglas has made his bid for the Presidency. He claims that the Missouri Compromise was abolished in 1850. Nobody knew it then; not he himself; it is his last discovery. Then he claims that Congress has no right to say that Slavery shall not be in the territory.

So the question is, shall we let Slavery into the two great territories of Kansas and Nebraska? That is a question of economy. Here it is. Shall men work with poor industrial tools, or with good ones? Shall they have the varied industry of New England and the North, or the Slave labour of Virginia and Carolina? Shall their land be worth five dollars and eight cents an acre, as in South Carolina, or thirty dollars and a half, as in Connecticut? Shall the people all be comfortable, engaged in honest work, which enriches while it elevates; or shall a part be the poorest of the world that a few may be idle and rich?

It is a question of political morality. Shall the Government be a commonwealth where all are citizens, or an aristocracy where man owns his brother man? Shall there be the schools of Ohio, or the ignorance of Tennessee? Shall it be a virtue and a dignity to teach, as it is in the public schools of Boston; a great charity, as some of you are administering in private schools for the ignorant and poor; or shall it be a crime, as in Virginia, where Mrs. Douglas, by sentence of Court, is now serving out her time in the House of Correction, for teaching a black child its letters? Shall there be the public libraries, newspapers, lectures, lyceums, of Massachusetts; or the ignorance, the ignoble sloth of Mississippi and Alabama? Aye! it is a question of domestic morality. Shall a man have a right to his own limbs, his liberty, his life? Shall the mother own the babe that is born from her bosom? Shall she be a maid, and keep her innocence and her honour? Shall she be a wife, faithful to him that she loves, or shall she be the instrument of a master's lust, who has the law to enforce rape and violence? That is the question.

It is a great religious question. Shall the passions and ambition of base men have rule in Nebraska, or the natural law of the most High God? The Unitarian Autumnal Convention at Worcester debated the great question, whether men should have a Litany in the Churches. The American Tract Society, the American Missionary Society, have questions of similar magnitude, which come before them. *This* is not thought a religious question. It is only one which concerns the welfare of millions of men, in hundreds of years yet to come; aye! thousands! The prayer of the Puritan, his self-denial, his trust in God, and love of the right—they are the best inheritance New England ever got—shall we extend the best institutions of New England to Nebraska; or shall we send there the Slave-driver with his whip, with his bloodhound, with his politician and his ——! shall I say the next word? I pass it by. That question must be answered in a month; in one short month; aye! perhaps, in a week.

In sixty years, Virginia has not doubled her population, while New York has ten times the population of 1790. The most valuable export of Virginia is her Slaves, enriched by the "best blood of the old dominion"; the "Mother of Presidents" is also the great Slave Breeder of America. Since she ceased to import bondmen from Africa, her Slaves become continually paler in the face; it is the "effect of the climate"—and Democratic Institutions. One-quarter of her Slaves have but one-fourth African blood in their veins; half of her Slaves are half white. The Ethiopian is changing his skin. Beneficent "effect of the climate"—and Democratic Institutions! By the laws of Virginia, it is a crime, punishable by imprisonment, to deny the master's right to hold his Slave; it was lately proposed in her Legislature to exclude from the jury-box all persons guilty of this opinion. Her present law provides that men of three-fourths white descent shall be free—it is now proposed to enslave all who have less than nine-tenths Caucasian blood; so the blood of "Jefferson and Sally," uncontaminated by any new African admixture, must pass through yet four other Slave-breeding Presidents before it is entitled to freedom! New York has 862,507 children at her Public Schools. Virginia makes it a crime to teach writing and reading to Slaves. Her highest literature is partisan newspapers and speeches; her noblest men are nothing but party-politicians; her chief manufacture is Slaves—children of her own Caucasian loins, begotten for exportation. She stocks the plantations of Alabama and the bagnios of New Orleans. Shall we establish in Nebraska the institutions of Virginia? Let the North answer.

I know Northern politicians say, "Slavery will never go there!" Do they believe their own word? They believe it! In 1820, they said it could not go to Missouri; then, there were but 10,222 therein; now, 87,422! more than a quarter of all the Slaves in the United States are North of 36 deg. 30 min. Desperate men from the Slave States of the Atlantic and the Mississippi, too miserable to reach California, will find their El Dorado in Nebraska, take Slaves there and work their lives out! It will be a better breeding State than Virginia herself.

Congress, it is said, has no right to legislate for the people of the territory against Slavery. It must be left to the inhabitants thereof. There are 485,000 square miles—not 1,000 men, not two hundred voters. Shall two hundred squatters entail Slavery on a country as large as all Germany, Switzerland, France, Belgium, and Holland? Is it "democratic" for Congress to allow two hundred stragglers in the wilderness, cheating the Indians, swearing, violent, half of them unable to write or read—is it democratic in Congress to allow these vagabonds of the wilderness to establish the worst institution which Spain brought out of the middle ages; which Western Europe casts off with scorn; which Russia treads under her feet; which Turkey rejects with indignation—and spread this over a country larger than the whole Roman Empire, when Julius Cæsar was cradled in his mother's arms? If it is so, let me go back and, O, most Imperial Nicholas! let me learn political justice from thee, thou last great tyrant of the Western world!

Suppose we grant this—will that be the end? Suppose Slavery flows into Nebraska—is that all? This is the tenth time that Slavery has demanded a great wrong, and the North has said, "Yes, I will do it." Each time it has been a greater and worser wrong. Our great enemy demands sacrifices, not of interest, but of principle; the sacred principle of natural right, allegiance to the Eternal God. "Grant it," say they, "or we will dissolve the Union." Presently that cry will be raised again, "Save the Union! Oh! save the Union." "The Union is in danger—this hour!" will be rung again in our deceived ears. Suppose it is granted. Only once in seventy years has the Southern demand been rejected—when she asked to put Slavery into Oregon. But the conscience of the North—there is not much of it—not enough to act, only to grumble, or perchance to swear. The conscience of the North complains. "Stop that agitation, or I will dissolve the Union at once," says the South. Then the North says again, "Hush! Save the Union!" and there will not be a whisper from Whig or Democrat. The Church has got its mean mouth sewed up with an iron thread.

Then the South will demand again, "Grant us this demand, or we will dissolve the Union!"—and the same thing goes over and over again. Do you think the North fears a dissolution of the Union? As much as I fear that this handful of flowers shall rise and strike the life out of my soul. *No! No!* Think not of that. Is it love of Country which prompts the Northern sacrifice of conscience? No! never! Never, no! It is love of the dollar. It is love of the power of the majority, of the Slaveholder's power, not love of man, but love of money. While the North can make money by the Union, there is no danger of dissolution!

Grant this, and see what follows. I omit the probable acts of individual States, over which Congress has no direct control.

I. The South will claim that the master has a right to take his Slaves into a free State—spite of its laws to the contrary—and hold them there—first, for a definite time, say seven years; next, for an indefinite period in perpetuity. That will restore Slavery to the North and enable the sons of New England to return to their native land with their "chattels personal." Perhaps it will require no Act of Congress to do this—and "supersede" the Ordinance of 1787, or declare it "inoperative and void." The whole may be done any day by the Supreme Court of the United States; any day when the President shall say, "Down with you, Judges. Do as you are bid." Whigs and Democrats can do all things through money, which strengtheneth them! will the North consent? Why not, nothing is so supple as the Northern neck.

II. Then the South will seek more Slave territory. Here is what is wanted—a part of Mexico—the Gadsden treaty stipulates for about 39,000,000 acres, eight States as large as Massachusetts; Cuba, which the Slave power has long coveted; Porto Rico; Hayti, which the Democratic Christians hate with such bitterness; Jamaica and the other West Indies; Sandwich Islands; other parts of the Northern and Southern continent. Slavery must be put in all these places. Will the North consent? Why not? habit makes all things easy. What an excellent "field for religious enterprise" Hayti would be, if this Republic should restore Slavery to St. Domingo! Conquer your prejudices!

III. Then she will seek to restore the African Slave-trade. Here are the steps. 1, to authorize any State to import Slaves; 2, to authorize any individual to do so in spite of the adverse law of any State which will be declared "inoperative and void," or "superseded." I can foresee the arguments for this measure—Whig and Democrat—yes, the theological arguments, drawn from the Bible, from "conscience and the Constitution." Some future Unitarian Doctor of Divinity, I suppose, for a "consideration" will be afraid of a "dissolution of the Union" and solve the problem of human destination by offering to sacrifice his own brother, sister, wife, daughter, mother! Will the North consent? Why stop at the thirteenth demand and not at the first, at the ninth? Is it worse to steal Northern men in Africa than Christian babies in Virginia? Worse to steal the son of Pumbo Jumbo than the daughters of Jefferson! Why should not the North consent—all the Slaves are to be voluntary "Missionaries for civilization and Christianity!" What is there which the North will not consent to?

Some of you may live long enough to see all this. The Union has been in danger five times, and five times saved by sacrifice of those principles which lie at the basis of the nation, and are its glory. Is that too sad a prophecy, even to be spoken? It is not worse for the fifty years to come than for the fifty years past; it is only the history of the last fifty years.

In 1775, what if it had been told the men all red with battle at Lexington and Bunker Hill—"your sons will guard the Court House with chains to kidnap a man; Boston will vote for a bill which puts the liberty of any man in the hands of a Commissioner, to be paid twice as much for making a Slave as for declaring a freeman; and Boston will call out its soldiers to hunt a man through the streets!" What if, on the 19th of April, 1775, when Samuel Adams said "Oh! what a glorious morning is this!" as he heard the tidings of war in the little village where he passed the night—what if it had been told him—"that on the 19th of April, seventy-six years from this day, will your City of Boston land a poor youth at Savannah, having violated her own laws, and stained her Magistrates' hands, in order to put an innocent man in a Slave-master's jail?" What if it had been told him that Ellen Craft must fly out of Democratic Boston, to Monarchic, Theocratic, Aristocratic England, to find shelter for her limbs, her connubial innocence, and the virtue of her woman's heart? I think Samuel would have cursed the day in which it was said a man-child was born, and America was free! What if it had been told Mayhew and Belknap, that in the pulpits of Boston, to defend kidnapping should be counted to a man as righteousness? They could not have believed it. They did not know what baseness could suck the Northern breast, and still be base.

Who is to blame? The South? Well, look and see! In the House of Representatives there are 88 Southern men; there are 144 from the North. In the Senate, the South has 30, the North 32. But out of the two and thirty Northern Senators, not twelve men can be found to protest against this wicked Bill. The President is a Northern man; the Cabinet has a majority from the North; the Committee of Senators who reported this Bill has a majority of Northern men; its Chairman is a Northern man.

The very men who enacted the Fugitive Slave Bill turn pale; but what do they do? They do nothing! Where is the North? Where has it been these fifty years back—at the feet of the South. Where are the Northern ideas—where is the Northern conscience, the Northern right! O, tell me, where? Is it in your Legislature? Listen! See if you can hear any faint breathing of the great Northern heart, that fought the war of Independence. At least, it is in the Cities. Listen! In Boston, the "great men" who control Church and State—they have called Conventions, have they; prepared resolutions—got them ready—had preliminary meetings—have they? Nothing of it. There is not a mouse stirring amongst them. It is all right, I suppose, in the little towns? There is the Northern heart—a great conscience, that says, "Give me Liberty or give me Death!"—"Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God!" Listen to Massachusetts! Can you hear anything? Well, I am a Minister. It is in the pulpits of the North, perhaps. Hark! The Bible rustles, as that Southern wind, heavy with Slavery, turns over its leaves rich in benedictions; and I hear the old breath come up again—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself"—"Inasmuch as ye have not done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have not done unto me." Is that the voice of the pulpit? O, no! That is the voice of a Hebrew peasant; a poor woman's son. In his own time, they said "He hath a devil." They hung him as a "blasphemer," an "infidel." This is not the pulpit's voice. Listen again. Here it is: "I would send back my own mother." That is the answer of the American Pulpit. Eight and twenty thousand Protestant Ministers! The foremost sect of them all debated, a little while ago, whether it should have a Litany, and on what terms it should admit young men to the communion table—allow them to drink "grocers' wine," and eat "bakers' bread," on the "Lord's day," in the "Lord's house;" and never dared to lift that palsied hand, in which was once the fire and blood of Channing, against the world's mightiest sin. Eight and twenty thousand Protestant ministers, and not a sect that is opposed to Slavery! O, the Church! the Church of America! False to the great prophets of the Old Testament, the great world's Prophet of the New; false to the fathers whose bloody knees once kissed the Rock of Plymouth!

The Northern conscience, the Northern religion, the Northern faith in God—where is it? Is it in the midst of the people—the young men and the young women; in your hearts and in my heart? Let us see. Let our actions speak. Now is the time; a month hence may be too late; aye, a week, and the deed may be done. Let us, at least, be manly, and do our part.

Well, let us contend bravely against this wicked device of men who are the enemies alike of America and Mankind. I call on all men who love man and love God, to oppose the extension of Slavery. Talk against it, preach against it, print against it—by all means, act against it. Call meetings of the Towns to oppose it, of the Congressional districts, of the State, yea, of all the Free States. Make a fire in the rear of your timid servants in Congress. Let us fight manfully, contesting the ground inch by inch, till at last we are driven back to the Rock of Plymouth. There let us gather up the wreck of the Old Ship which brought over the three churches of Plymouth, Salem, Boston—whose children have so often proved false—therewith let us build anew our Mayflower, make Plymouth our Delft-haven, launch again upon the sea, sailing to Greenland or to Africa—by prayer to lay other deep foundations, and in the wilderness to build up the glorious liberty of the sons of God.

But we shall not toil in vain. Slavery is nothing. It exists only by a whim. Theocracy is nothing, Monarchy is nothing, Aristocracy nothing. America has no "Pope," no "King," no "Noble;" a breath unmakes them as a breath once made. Slavery is no more if we say it; the monster dies. In one day the North could annihilate all the Slavery which depends on the Federal Government—abolish it on the Federal soil, the Capital, and the Territories; abolish the American Slave Trade, declare it piracy, or other felony. That would be only common legislation. The next day we could abolish it in the Slave States. That would be Revolution.

America has one great enemy—Slavery, our deadliest foe. Do you believe it is always to last? I tell you no! O, young America! are you sure there is no law higher than love of money and power? sure there is no Justice? no God? Quite sure of that? Men have sometimes been mistaken who reckoned without that Host.

Political economy is against Slavery; it is a poor tool to work with. Compare Kentucky and Ohio, Virginia with Pennsylvania and New York! Do you believe that thrifty Americans will always use the poor rude instrument of the savage! They love riches too well. How weak Slavery makes a nation! In time of war how easy it would be for the enemy to raise up the 385,000 Slaves of South Carolina against the 283,000 whites! Where would then be the "chivalry" of that medi